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AUTHOR OF "THE INTERMEDIATE TEXT-BOOK OF ENGLISH HISTORY"
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PREFATORY NOTE.

This book is intended to meet the historical requirements of the London University Matriculation syllabus in the joint subject of History and Geography, and deals with "The general course of English History from 1688 to the death of Queen Victoria, with some reference to the contemporary history of Europe and Colonial developments." It consists of that part of the *Matriculation Modern History* which traces the main current of affairs from the deposition of James II. to the death of Queen Victoria. For the convenience of students who possess *Matriculation Modern History*, and for facility of reference, the section numbers of the original work have been retained.

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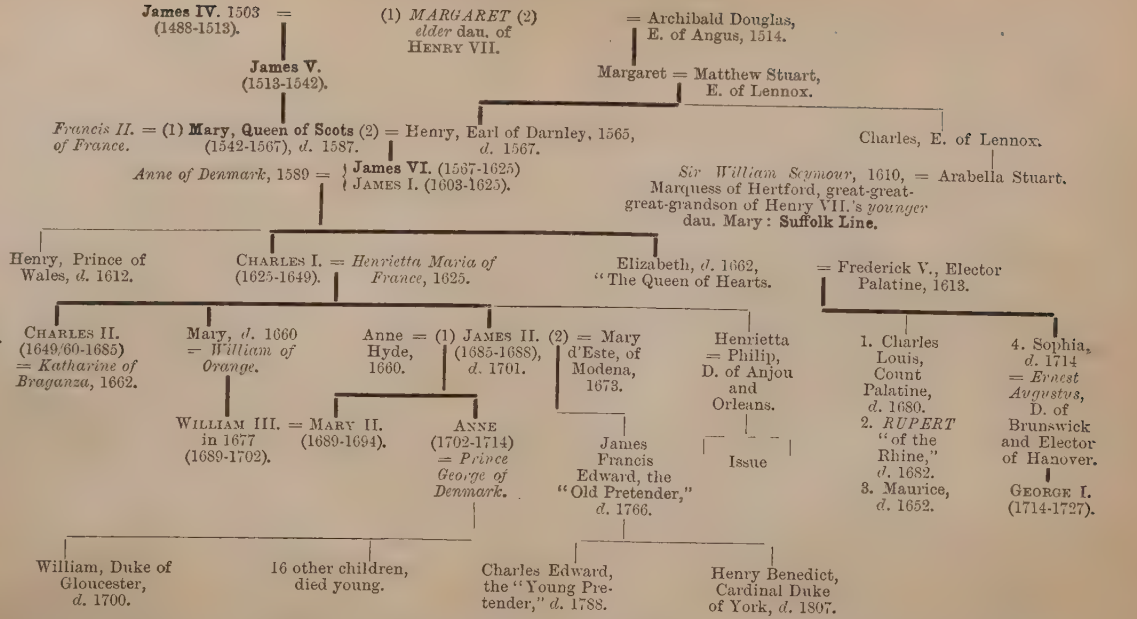
James IV. 1503 (1488-1513).
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= Archibald Douglas, E. of Angus, 1514.
James V. (1513-1542).
Margaret = Matthew Stuart, E. of Lennox.
Francis II. of France.
(1) Mary, Queen of Scots (2) (1542-1567), d. 1587.
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(2) = Mary d'Este, of Modena, 1673.
Henrietta = Philip, D. of Anjou and Orleans.
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2. RUPERT "of the Rhine," d. 1682.
3. Maurice, d. 1652.
4. Sophia, d. 1714 = Ernest Augustus, D. of Brunswick and Elector of Hanover.
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Issue
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16 other children, died young.
Charles Edward, the "Young Pretender," d. 1788.
Henry Benedict, Cardinal Duke of York, d. 1807.

DIRECTIONS.—Scottish kings in **dark type**: English kings in CAPITALS: men and women connected with the Royal House of Stuart by marriage only in *italics*; dates in brackets denote regnal years; the thick line denotes the line of descent leading to English crowned heads.

NOTE.—James IV. was in the *eleventh* generation from that Walter *Fitz-Alan* of Oswestry who became Hereditary *Steward* of Scotland in the 12th century, and in the *sixth* from that Walter whose marriage with Marjory **Bruce** brought his son to the Scots throne in 1371 as Robert II.

ENGLAND
SINCE THE REVOLUTION.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

I. The Causes of the Revolution.

1. The Origin of the Revolution.—The English Revolution of 1688-1689 was the conclusion of a struggle between the Monarchy and the people of England as represented in Parliament. This struggle had lasted a century and was caused by events that had happened two centuries before. To understand it, we must therefore go back for a moment to the establishment in England of what is called the New Monarchy.

In the fifteenth century (1399-1461) Parliament had obtained from the Lancastrian kings privileges very little short of those enjoyed by a modern Parliament. No new tax could be imposed without its consent; all legislation had to be "treated, accorded and established in Parliament by our lord the King, and by the consent of the prelates, earls, and barons, and the commonalty of the realm"; the King had no longer the power to amend, though he might reject, Bills passed by Parliament; the King's ministers could be brought to justice by the Commons for any oppressive act.

But though Parliament was strong, the administration of the country was weak. The central government had no power to check local disorders: great noblemen had in their

service bands of armed retainers, and set the King's justice and the King's peace at defiance; petty wars raged in various parts of the country. The situation has been well summed up in the phrase, "Constitutional progress had outrun administrative order." That they might obtain administrative order, Englishmen were content to acquiesce for a time in the suspension of their constitutional liberties. In the sovereigns of the Tudor line (1485-1603) were found rulers well able to provide this administrative order or good government, and so it came to pass that the characteristic features of the Tudor government or New Monarchy as it is called were the almost absolute power of the King and the willing consent of the nation to this absolutism.

2. The Reformation.—In the sixteenth century there was a new factor that made a strong monarchy very necessary for England. The spirit of inquiry, which we call the Renaissance, had led scholars in Italy to study with new devotion the old learning of Rome and Greece. The same spirit in Germany led men to study the primitive Christian religion, and they discovered that there were great differences in doctrine and in organisation between the Church of the sixteenth century and that of the early ages of Christianity. Hence there arose a movement for Reform, which spread rapidly from Germany to the neighbouring countries of North Europe. Europe divided itself into Catholic Europe and Protestant Europe, and, because toleration in matters of religious belief was not yet known, there began a period of wars of religion.

First among the champions of the Catholics were the Kings of Spain, a country strong in the wealth of its American possessions and in the discipline of its well trained army. Charles I. of Spain (the Emperor Charles V., 1516-1556) and his son Philip II. (1556-1598) were determined to re-establish the old religion by the strength of Spanish arms. England, on the other hand, had early cut herself off from the

Papacy; and although she showed no great sympathy with the continental reformers, and suffered much from her own internal differences of opinion, she was generally regarded, at least from 1558 on, as the champion of the Protestant nations. England therefore had to be prepared to meet the attack which was certain to be made as soon as Spain was ready to make it. The attack was long delayed, but, until it came, Englishmen were obliged to sink as far as possible all their differences, both political and religious, and unite in support of the Crown against the foreign foe.

3. Results of the Armada.—In 1588 the Armada came. England's danger from Spain disappeared for ever, and Englishmen felt themselves free to fight out their own battles without danger from a foreign foe. There were two great questions to be settled: (1) Was the almost absolute power with which the sovereign had been temporarily entrusted to be continued, or should the Parliament and people of England resume their ancient rights? (2) What was to be the religious settlement of England? Should we be content with the Church established by the Tudors, or should we move further in the direction of Protestantism? Even the great renown of Elizabeth could not suppress these discussions. When she died and James I. ascended the throne, both questions became critical.

4. Accession of Stuart Dynasty. The Puritans.—It was the misfortune of the Stuarts that they could not keep these two questions—the political and the religious—separate. There was in 1603 an increasing number of earnest men in England who took serious objection to some of the religious practices of the established church. They wished to conform, but they could not conscientiously continue the use of the surplice, of the cross in baptism, of the ring in marriage, and some other ceremonies; they desired, too, better preaching and a more educated ministry. These men, the Puritans,

hoped for the sympathy of James, who had been educated among the Presbyterian Scots; and they made known to him their wishes in the Millenary Petition, presented to him on his way from Scotland to London.

James took time to consider his decision, but in 1604 he pronounced at the Hampton Court Conference his condemnation of the Puritans and his intention of forcing them to conform to the established uses. Three hundred ministers refused to conform and were ejected from their livings. The King had shown that in the religious conflict between the Anglicans and the rapidly increasing Puritans the Crown would use all its powers to crush the latter. The Anglicans repaid their debt to the Crown by advocating the doctrine that the King was King by divine right, and that resistance to him was therefore contrary to divine law.

5. James I. and Parliament.—In 1603 there was no person who desired absolute monarchy in England, except perhaps the King himself, and there was no person of importance that desired the abolition of monarchy. Between these extremes there was plenty of room for difference of opinion, and two parties were soon formed—one anxious to retain the royal power as it had been in Tudor times, the other anxious to reduce the King's power and increase that of Parliament. The latter party was from the beginning strong in the House of Commons.

It is not necessary to relate in detail all the causes of the contest that arose between Parliament on one side and James I. and Charles I. on the other—questions of the royal prerogative, of the Commons' privileges, of the power to tax, and other matters. But it is most important to note that the Commons claimed the right of expressing their opinions on ecclesiastical matters, and that they generally supported the Puritans. The religious and political areas were becoming confused when an Anglican King was opposed by a Puritan Parliament.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES

6. The Petition of Right.—A notable event in the long struggle occurred in 1628. In return for a considerable grant of money, the King with great reluctance gave his consent to a Petition of Right—a document which set forth the claims of the Commons on several important points: (1) No gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge was to be levied without common consent by Act of Parliament; (2) no freeman might be imprisoned without cause shown; (3) the King might not billet his soldiers in private houses; (4) martial law might not be executed within the land in time of peace. These claims are expressed a little vaguely, but the document is important as being the first great concession that Parliament had gained from the Crown since Lancastrian times. The document did not bring peace: Charles felt that he had suffered an indignity; the Parliament felt encouraged to aim at higher things. In the following year Charles dissolved his third Parliament (1629), and no other met till 1640.

7. The Absolute Government of Charles I.—During these eleven years the grievances of the country multiplied. To meet the expenses of government Charles had to raise money by illegal or doubtful methods: to get the payment of these taxes enforced he had to put undue pressure upon the bench of judges. He was determined to drive Puritanism from the Church, and encouraged Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in his efforts to exact a more elaborate ceremonial from the Puritan clergy. And when Puritan controversialists wrote against Laud's efforts and Puritan preachers spoke against them, Charles had his Star Chamber and his High Commission Court ready to inflict punishment on these opponents.

The country had no means of expressing its abhorrence of these things, and Charles might long have continued his absolute government but for one great blunder. In 1637 he attempted to impose the English Service Book on the Scottish Church. This provoked such resentment in Scotland that

the people decided to form a great league for maintaining the Presbyterian form of religion there, and collected an army to defend the cause. This was of course equivalent to a rebellion. To meet it Charles found himself unable to raise men or money. A force of Scots prepared to enter England, and Charles then decided to summon a Parliament in the spring of 1640.

8. The Long Parliament.—This Parliament at once began to collect grievances and was dissolved. But the Scots entered England, and Charles had no alternative but to summon another Parliament. It met at Westminster in November 1640, and after many strange vicissitudes of fortune dissolved itself nearly twenty years later.

At first its proceedings were virtually unanimous. All were agreed that the experience of the last eleven years must not be repeated. Acts were passed to secure frequent meetings of Parliament, to abolish the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, to remove the arbitrary financial and administrative power exercised by the Crown. Thomas Wentworth, Lord Strafford, the King's chief adviser in his personal government, was executed by Act of Attainder; Archbishop Laud was sent to the Tower. These measures undid for ever what we may call the Tudor and Stuart absolutism, because they removed the instruments by which that absolutism had been maintained. These permanent and beneficent reforms had been accomplished by the summer of 1641.

So far Parliament had been united. Two questions remained to be settled:—(1) Could Parliament trust Charles to be loyal to these reforms? (2) What measures were to be passed for the regulation of the Church?

9. The Parliamentary Split.—It was the second of these questions that broke up the unity of Parliament. The more extreme of the Puritan members desired to destroy altogether Episcopal government in the Church and to establish in its

place some sort of Presbyterian system. A measure was introduced for this purpose—the Root and Branch Bill. But the more moderate members, much as they disliked Laud and his methods, still preferred Episcopacy to Presbyterianism, the Prayer Book to a Puritan service. And as these members rallied to the defence of the Church they were naturally brought into friendly relations with the King, the most devoted supporter of the Church. So there was formed at the end of 1641 and the beginning of 1642 a new Royalist party, looking to the King for the defence of the Church and trusting him to be faithful to the reforms already made in the Constitution. Opposed to the King was the so-called Parliamentary party, proposing (1) to destroy episcopacy in the Church, (2) to take further measures to limit and control the Royal power.

A wise king might have found some compromise, but Charles I. was not a statesman. He made no attempt to conciliate his opponents, and by a futile attempt to seize at Westminster the five chief leaders of the opposition he precipitated the Civil War.

10. The Civil War and the Republic.—Six years of civil war (1642-1648) made men's feelings very bitter. When the military genius of Cromwell had at last brought success to the Parliamentary army, a settlement that would have been accepted in 1642 would no longer suffice. Charles was executed; the House of Lords was abolished; Episcopacy was abolished. A Commonwealth or Republic—a form of government which no one had seriously proposed in 1642—was established. All forms of religion were tolerated, except Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism. After 1653 Cromwell, as Protector of the Commonwealth, was the head of the executive government; and his genius and reputation made England feared and respected among the nations of Europe.

But the Republic was doomed to failure from the beginning. (*a*) The Revolution had been too rapid and the

country was not prepared for so violent a break with the traditions of the past. (*b*) The Republican leaders themselves could not agree on the details of the new constitution. Experiment after experiment was tried and each seemed as unsatisfactory as its predecessor. (*c*) After 1649 the Parliamentary leaders could not be certain of a majority in the country: the Royalists were numerous, and the Government had to become confessedly a military despotism. This was an absurd conclusion to a war fought on behalf of the liberties of the people. (*d*) The austere manners of the Puritans did not win the affections of a people much given to innocent gaiety.

11. The Restoration.—While Cromwell lived the fear of his army kept men in check. But his death in 1658 was the signal for the outbreak of all the tendencies he had sternly restrained. Parliament quarrelled with army; army expelled Parliament; one general strove against another; all was anarchy. At last General Monk, who had commanded the Commonwealth army in Scotland, decided that a new Parliament should be freely elected. In 1660 the Long Parliament dissolved itself, and a new Parliament (called a Convention, because not summoned by Royal Writ) decided that Charles II. should be acknowledged as King.

It is important to note what this restoration meant. It was the restoration of hereditary kingship; it was the restoration of the old English Parliament; it was the restoration of the old Episcopalian Church. But the measures of the first year of the Long Parliament were still law, so the King was without the means of absolutism. The old Parliament was restored, but the memory of a successful war waged against the Crown could not be forgotten, and so Parliament was stronger than ever. The Episcopalian Church was restored, but the view that the Church was identical with the nation was for ever untenable.

12. Charles II. and Louis XIV.—Oliver Cromwell had in

the interests of Protestantism joined with tolerant Catholic France against intolerant Catholic Spain. Charles II. soon made it evident that he would continue the policy of friendship with France, but not for the same reason. In 1661 Louis XIV., who was a cousin of Charles II., began his personal rule in France; he aimed at making that country supreme in western Europe. He needed the help of England against the naval power of Holland: he was able to offer in return the means of enabling Charles to carry out some of his favourite schemes. For Charles aimed at making himself independent of Parliament, and was skilfully directing his policy to this end. He had, too, a leaning towards Roman Catholicism and was anxious to secure toleration for Roman Catholics in this country. Under these circumstances it was evidently good policy for Louis XIV. and Charles II. to lend each other assistance.

13. Charles II. and Parliament.—The Parliament elected in 1661 is known as the Cavalier Parliament. It passed a series of persecuting measures against the Puritans, excluding them from Borough corporations, Church livings, and Universities. It kept an open eye on the use of the moneys it voted, and in 1667 it impeached the King's minister Clarendon. In 1668 it hailed with enthusiasm a Triple Alliance that Sir William Temple, our ambassador to Holland, had negotiated between England, Holland, and Sweden, with the object of checking French aggression against Holland.

To Charles the Triple Alliance was a means of extorting good terms from the French king. For while England was publicly pledged to the Triple Alliance, in 1670 the Secret Treaty of Dover was made by Charles and Louis: (*a*) Louis was to give Charles subsidies, and in return was to be allowed to conquer Holland; (*b*) Charles was presently to declare himself a Roman Catholic, and for this he was to receive more subsidies and the loan of French troops if necessary.

In 1672 Louis XIV. made his attack on Holland, and Charles issued a Declaration of Indulgence, suspending laws against Nonconformists and Roman Catholics. Parliament took alarm at this abandonment of the Triple Alliance and this toleration of Roman Catholics, and retaliated (1673) by a Test Act, which deprived all Roman Catholics of government offices, and by forcing Charles to withdraw the Declaration. The first effort of the King towards Catholicism and absolutism had been foiled (1673).

From 1673 to 1678 Charles had Danby for chief minister. In these five years at least four secret treaties were negotiated with France, by which Louis paid subsidies to Charles to secure England's neutrality in his attacks on Holland, while as a blind to his suspicious people Charles allowed his niece Mary, daughter of his brother James, to marry William of Orange. In 1678 Parliament heard of one of these secret treaties, and at the same time Titus Oates announced that he had discovered a plot to murder Charles and to put James, an acknowledged Roman Catholic, on the throne. These things thoroughly alarmed the nation. Danby was impeached by Parliament for his share in the secret treaty, and to save him the King dissolved the Cavalier Parliament.

14. The Exclusion Bill.—In 1679 political excitement was running high. The supporters of the Court now began to be called Tories, while those who regarded the King's policy as a danger to Protestantism were called Whigs. In the election of 1679 a Whig majority was returned and felt obliged to devise some method of safeguarding the country against Roman Catholicism. The heir apparent to the throne was James, Duke of York, the brother of Charles, and an acknowledged Roman Catholic. The plan that commended itself to the Whig leaders was the exclusion of James from the succession. A Bill for this purpose was introduced into Parliament in 1679, and was only prevented from passing

by the dissolution of Parliament. A second exclusion Bill passed the Commons in 1680, and was rejected by the Lords. And now the Whig leaders made two blunders that lost them the support of the country. (*a*) The natural person to succeed to the throne, if James were excluded, was his daughter Mary, the wife of William of Orange. Instead of proposing her, the Whig leaders proposed Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II. (*b*) When a new Parliament was called to meet at Oxford in 1681, the Whig leaders rode to the assembly armed. In 1681 the nation feared the certain evils of a civil war more than the problematic evils of a Roman Catholic king. When, after the rejection of a compromise offered by him, Charles hastily dissolved this Parliament, his action was approved of by the great bulk of the nation.

15. The triumph of Charles II., 1681-1685.—For the rest of his reign Charles did not call together a Parliament. He had a sufficient income voted for life to enable him to dispense with Parliamentary grants, and Louis XIV. promised him ample money on condition that Parliament was not summoned. To secure himself against emergencies, however, Charles set himself to remodel the Corporations of London and other towns so as to restrict the franchise to those on whom he could depend. The violence of the Whig leaders strengthened his position, for he was able to accuse them of being privy to a plot to murder him, and two of the ablest, Russell and Sydney, were executed. In 1685 Charles died.

16. Accession of James II.—James II., the cause of so much agitation, ascended the throne amid the rejoicing of the whole nation. He was not afraid to call a Parliament, and was rewarded by receiving for life a revenue of two million pounds. Attempts to raise rebellions, by Monmouth in England and by Argyll in Scotland, met with so little support and were so effectively crushed that James might well feel confident in the strength of his position. But unfortunately

the new King had set his heart on restoring Roman Catholics to power and position in this country, and that at the very moment when the repeal of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. and the persecution of Protestants in France were making all Protestant Englishmen suspicious of Roman Catholicism. The history of the reign of James II. is the list of expedients by which he strove to advance the cause of his religion in this country.

17. Causes of the Revolution.—(*a*) In the first year of his reign James obtained from the judges a decision that the King had the power to dispense with laws. This enabled James to evade the Test Act and to place his Roman Catholic friends in high positions. They became government officials, officers of the army, and heads of Colleges. (*b*) As Head of the Church of England, James appointed a Court of Ecclesiastical Commission with power to suspend and eject clergy. This commission among other oppressive acts expelled all the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, for refusing to elect as their President a Roman Catholic nominee of the King, and suspended Compton, Bishop of London. (*c*) By a Declaration of Indulgence in 1687 the King suspended all penal statutes against Roman Catholics and Nonconformists, and all statutes that excluded them from any kind of preferment. No doubt the Protestant Nonconformists were included in this indulgence, as a bribe to them to support the King against the Anglican Church. By the end of 1687 James had thoroughly alienated the support of his best friends, the Anglicans; and even staunch Tories began to discuss with William of Orange what was to be done in case James continued his present course of action.

18. James's Second Declaration of Indulgence, April 22, 1688.—In April 1688 James reissued his *Indulgence* with orders that it should be read aloud in the churches on the Sundays of the month of May. It was as much the practice then for the clergy to read royal proclamations from the

pulpit as it is nowadays the practice to post State documents on the notice-boards of churches; nevertheless there was in this case a widespread disobedience. In the four London churches where the parson, like the Vicar of Bray in the old song, "read the Declaration" the congregation protested by the simple method of walking out of church.

19. Trial of the Seven Bishops, June 1688.—The "passive" disobedience of the clergy was approved by the Episcopate. Early in May, William Sancroft, the Primate, and six other bishops drew up a petition to the King praying to be excused from reading in God's house a manifestly illegal document. The King called their petition "a standard of rebellion," and ordered the prosecution of the Bishops for seditious libel. They were arrested on June 8, and the trial commenced in the Court of King's Bench on June 29. The prosecution had to prove, first, that the document had been "published" by the Bishops, and secondly, that its contents were seditious. The fact of publication was proved by Sunderland; on the second point the prosecution insisted that to censure the Government was equivalent to rebellion, while Somers and his fellow-counsel for the Bishops maintained (*a*) that subjects had a right to petition the King, and (*b*) that the particular thing against which the Bishops had petitioned—the exercise of the Suspending Power—was illegal. After a long debate the jury acquitted the Bishops; and the verdict was received with rapture, not only by the citizens of London, but by the army which James had posted at Hounslow to overawe them.

II. The Invasion of England, 1688-1689.

20. The Invitation of William of Orange, June 30, 1688.—The English nation had borne James II.'s disregard of its laws and prejudices with patience so long as it could count with confidence on the succession of his Protestant daughter Mary. But two days after the arrest of the Bishops the birth of a son and heir to James, who was certain to bring

up his successor as a Roman Catholic, crushed that hope, and made it seem necessary to take steps to change the course of affairs at once. Men salved their consciences for plotting against their lawful monarch by catching at the rumour that the infant was supposititious: it was almost universally regarded at the time as a baby smuggled into the palace in a warming-pan. The popularity of the Seven Bishops proved clearly the unpopularity of the King; but the failure of Argyll and Monmouth had shown how little could be done by unorganised crowds against a body of regular troops such as James had at his disposal. Accordingly, on June 30, 1688, a letter, signed by seven prominent representatives of all parties, was dispatched to William of Orange, asking him to come over to England with an army to protect the Protestant liberties of England.

21. International Position of William of Orange, 1688. — William was interested in this appeal as a husband, as a Protestant, as a Dutchman, and as a European statesman; and in each capacity he had enormous difficulties to overcome before he could respond to the appeal. But in all capacities he was desirous of wresting England from its present connection with France—which James had felt bound to continue—and joining it to the great *League of Augsburg* which he had built up in 1686 to resist the aggressive policy of Louis XIV. William displayed great ingenuity in representing his intended expedition as a religious crusade to the Protestant members of the League, and as a purely political enterprise to his Roman Catholic allies. Ultimately William was relieved of his chief difficulty—the danger of leaving the Netherlands defenceless—by a great strategic blunder of Louis XIV. himself. When Louis attacked the League by marching all his available troops to the Upper Rhine, William was able to use some of the forces of the League in a counter-attack by invading England.

22. William's March from Torbay to London, November-

December, 1688.—William landed at Torbay in Devonshire on November 5, the anniversary of the capture of Guy Fawkes. The recent memory of Monmouth's failure in the West of England made men hesitate to join him there; but on the other hand Danby raised the North in his favour, and James's troops were too much discouraged by desertions to enable him to resist William's advance towards London. Alarmed by his growing isolation, the King—who had already tried to conciliate public feeling by hasty concessions to the classes whom he had offended—sent commissioners to Hungerford to enter into negotiations with the invader and agreed to call a Parliament. Both armies were to remain at equal distances from Westminster during the session, in order to secure to Parliament freedom of action.

23. Flight of James, December 1688.—In his heart James was resolved not to yield. He thought that if he withdrew for a while his opponents would fall out among themselves, and that he would then be able to return in triumph. On December 11, therefore, he left London for France—whither he had already dispatched his wife and child; but he was captured and brought back. During his absence riots broke out in the capital, and William's troops came in to restore order. William persuaded the King to retire for safety to Rochester; and thence, on December 23, James made good his escape to France.

24. The Convention, January 1689.—By the advice of the Lords and of the City of London, Prince William now followed Monk's precedent in 1660 in summoning "a free Parliament"—called, like the assembly which Monk had convened, a "Convention." Its principal business was to decide the future government of the country. The four main courses open to that body were the two Tory plans —either to recall James with or without conditions, or, while retaining a nominal allegiance to James, to transfer his actual authority to a Regent—and the two Whig plans—

either to assume that Mary had succeeded her father, as though he were dead and his son were an impostor, or, treating the throne as empty, to elect a person to occupy it. William having refused to be either Regent for the absent James or Prince-Consort to Mary, ultimately the Lords adopted this last solution by accepting the Commons' Resolution:—

"That King James II., having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of this kingdom, by breaking the original contract between King and people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government; and that the throne is thereby vacant."

25. The Declaration of Right, February 13, 1689.—This "lumbering Resolution" embodied that fantastic theory of Social Compact which the Whigs had adopted in opposition to that of the Divine Right of Kings. Having thus settled its basis of action, and having further voted "that it was inconsistent with the national safety to be ruled by a Popish Prince" (cp. § 278), the Convention offered the crown jointly to William and Mary, who accepted it on the conditions laid down in the *Declaration of Right*:—

(1) That the pretended Suspending Power and the pretended Dispensing Power, "as it hath been assumed and exercised of late," are illegal.
(2) That such Courts as the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission are illegal and pernicious.
(3) That levying of money by pretence of prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time than the same is granted, is illegal.
(4) That it is the right of subjects to petition the King.
(5) That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom, in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is illegal.
(6) That elections of Parliaments ought to be free.

(7) That the freedom of speech or debates in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament.

(8) That for the redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.

THE SOUTHERN NETHERLANDS
English Miles
0 5 10 20 30
NOTE.—The Barrier Towns arranged between Austria and the States General to 1715 are doubly underlined. Those singly underlined were also guaranteed by Great Britain in 1709, but afterwards dropped.
Canals
NORTH SEA
Zeeland
Walcheren
Flushing
RIVER SCHELDT
LAND OF THE GENERAL LIFE
The Sluys
Hulst
Fort Lillo
Blankenberghe
Ostend
Damme
BRUGES
Sas-van-gent
ANTWERP
LITTLE NETHE
GREAT NETHE
Nieuport
Furnes
Wynendael
Dixmuide
GHENT
Lokeren
Dendermonde
MALINES
R. DEMER
Aerschot
Mardyck
DUNKIRK
FLANDERS
R. YSER
Fort Knocke
Rousselaer
Gavre
Alost
Vilvorde
LOUVAIN
YPRES
R. LYS
Oudenarde
BRUSSELS
Tirlemont
Menin
COURTRAY
R. DENDER
Forest of Soignies
Neerwinden
Warneton
R. SCHELDT
Grammont
Hal
R. SENNE
Jodoigne
Landen
Enghien
Waterloo
Wavre
Armentières
Frasnes
Ath
Ramillies
Aire
LILLE
FRENCH FRONTIER IN 1700
HAINAULT
Steenkirk
Genappe
TOURNAY
Soignies
Nivelles
Quatre Bras
Gembloux
FRENCH FRONTIER IN 1713
Bethune
Seneff
Frasnes
Ligny
ARTOIS
Fleurus
NAMUR
R. MEUSE OR MAAS
Lens
R. SCARPE
Condé
MONS
CHARLEROI
NAMUR
Givry
R. SAMBRE
DOUAI
VALENCIENNES
Denain
Malplaquet
Maubeuge
Walcourt
Dinant
ARRAS
Bouchain
Le Quesnoy
Philippeville
CAMBRAI
Landrecies
R. MEUSE
BISHOPRIC OF LIEGE
20 miles down Maas from Huy to Liège
37 miles to Maastricht

BOOK I.

THE RISE OF PARTY-GOVERNMENT, 1688-1754.

INTRODUCTION.

266. Retrospect, 1660-1688.—In 1660 the Stuarts had been restored with almost universal applause, and on the whole they had retained their popularity throughout the quarter-century occupied by the actual reign of Charles II. We have seen how, in little more than three years, James II. had contrived to dissipate this popularity so completely as to lose the most important of his three kingdoms (§§ 16-19): we have now to see how he lost his sister kingdoms and how his dynasty was kept out of the realms which he had thrown away. The main grievances against him had been his constitutional methods, his ecclesiastical objects, and—intimately connected with both of these things—his alliance with France. Naturally the Revolution of 1688 was marked by a strong but not unopposed or unbroken, reaction in each of these respects.

267. Incompleteness of the Revolution.—The acceptance of the *Declaration of Right* by William and Mary forms a convenient stopping- or starting-place for the historian of *England*; but it must be remembered that in February 1689 that document did not bear the appearance of finality which it has for us who know the sequel, and that it was a purely English affair which had no direct constitutional concern with the other kingdoms in the British Isles (§§ 280-284). It was nearly three years after James' flight before William and Mary secured their hold on the two minor British

kingdoms: it was nearly sixty years before a Stuart restoration was shown to be outside the range of practical politics (§§ 353, 354).

268. The Protestant Succession, 1688-1754.—Our main business, therefore, in telling the story of the next two generations, will be the Protestant Succession: that is the matter which dominates British foreign policy, involves the abandonment by England of the attempt to enforce ecclesiastical unity within the Kingdom of England (§ 277), and compels England to make Roman Catholic Ireland submit to a third English conquest (§ 284), and to take Protestant Scotland into full partnership (§ 310). The Protestant Revolution also brings many constitutional changes in its train.

269. International Aspects of the Revolution.—The convention of 1689, unlike the Rump of 1649, had the majority of the English nation at its back; but on the other hand the ejected Stuarts had a powerful and interested advocate in the person of the French king. Therefore the English Revolution of 1689 was an international as well as a constitutional revolution (§§ 285-295): it was the first stage in a European war which may be called "The War of the English Succession," which itself was the first stage in our Second "Hundred Years' War" with France (1688-1815). Naturally this war was on a much greater scale than the First "Hundred Years' War" (1338-1453): it grew into a world-wide struggle for Colonies and Commerce (§ 273): and at certain portions of its course nearly all the states in Europe were directly or indirectly concerned in it. Throughout the long conflict the strength of England lay mainly in her insular position and in her Navy.

270. Constitutional Changes: (i) In Ecclesiastical Affairs.—Various notable ecclesiastical changes were among the unexpected consequences of the Protestant Revolution. The expulsion of the legitimate monarch was in various ways distasteful to the Roman Catholics and to the party in the

Anglican Church which was most nearly allied to them, through its respect for Authority claiming to rest on Divine Right. The advocates of the Protestant Revolution naturally rewarded the ecclesiastical parties which could conscientiously support them. The result was the granting of a measure of religious toleration to Protestant Nonconformists in England (§ 277), the recognition of a Presbyterian polity in the national church of Scotland (§§ 280, 310), and the repression of Protestant Episcopalians in Scotland and of Roman Catholics in Ireland (§ 284). All this involved the definite abandonment of the attempt to maintain ecclesiastical unity, on the English model, throughout the dominions of the ruler of England.

271. (ii) **In Civil Affairs.**—One of the immediate effects of the Protestant Revolution was a diminution of the powers of the Crown by suppression of some powers and by making others dependent on the approbation of Parliament. These limitations, laid down in the *Bill of Rights* (§§ 25, 278), involved many unforeseen innovations which were widely regarded as objectionable but which were ultimately accepted as inevitable. The starting of the practice of granting only for short periods money-supplies and the powers requisite for the maintainance of military discipline made frequent Parliaments necessary (§§ 25, 276); and when Parliament, endowed with such powers, met constantly, the King quickly found that he must choose, as his ministers, men who were not unacceptable to Parliament (§ 291). Gradually there came into being those complicated methods of keeping harmony between the ruler and the ruled which we know nowadays as "Party-Government."

272. (iii) **In the Relations between the Different Parts of the Empire.**—The Protestant Revolution was, in general terms, approved by the more important part of the Kingdom of Scotland and disapproved by the more important part of the Kingdom of Ireland. The consequence was that while

Ireland was made more than ever dependent on the predominant partner (§§ 284, 335), England consented to the destruction of her separate existence, of her anglicising aspirations, and of her commercial monopoly, in order to persuade Scotland to enter into a fuller and more permanent union than hitherto (§§ 309, 310). This new kingdom of Great Britain, partly because of the Union, partly because of the increasing influence of commercial interests, was destined to play a much more important part in the world's history than either of the vanished kingdoms could possibly have done.

273. English Colonies and Dependencies, 1607-1688.—It is important to remember that these international and constitutional changes, directly or indirectly brought about by the Protestant Revolution, affected not only England or even the British Isles, but also the various territories outside Europe which had come under English rule during the seventeenth century (Table, p. 23). These outlying territories had been occupied by Englishmen for various reasons and by various means; and they stood in various relations, both social and political, to the Mother Country. They can therefore be classified in many ways; but the most important classification is that drawn by nature itself in the form of climate. There were territories in regions where Englishmen could live permanently and bring up families; and there were territories in regions where Englishmen could not make their homes permanently, but where they were willing to stay for some years to enrich themselves by trading. The former class are "colonies" proper, the latter class are "dependencies." At the end of the seventeenth century the English colonies were confined to a fringe of the eastern seaboard of North America; her dependencies were thinly scattered along the coasts of West Africa and Southern Asia; and neither were so much valued at home as were the intermediate possessions —ranking between "colonies" and "dependencies"—in the West Indies.

British Colonies and Dependencies, 1714.

I. Europe:—		
Gibraltar . .	**1704**	Taken from Spain by Rooke. Ceded to *Gr. Br.* by the Taken from Spain by Stanhope and lost in 1756, 1781, 1802. *Anglo-Spanish Treaty of Utrecht*, 1713.
Minorca . . .	1708	
II. Asia:—		
Madras . . . (Fort S. George)	**1639**	First Indian territory acquired—by purchase from a Hindu prince in the Carnatic: Presidency, 1654.
Bombay . . .	1662	Dowry of Katharine of Braganza; handed over by Portugal, 1665; leased by Charles II. to E.I.C., 1668; Presidency, by transfer from Surat, 1685.
Calcutta . . . (Fort William)	1686–96	Fortified by leave of the Nawáb of Bengal.
		N.B. The E.I.C. had at times many other factories in Hindustán and throughout the Orient.
III. Africa:—		
S. Helena . .	1651	Occupied by E.I.C. on its abandonment by the Dutch.
The Gambia. .	1618	First visited by Englishmen, 1591: occupied 1618.
Gold Coast . .	1664	Lagos, etc., seized from the Dutch, 1661: ceded by the *Treaty of Breda*, 1667.
IV. West Indies:—		
Barbados . .	**1605**	Occupied 1605, and again 1624; escheated to the Crown from its grantees, 1663.
Antigua, S. Kitts	1623	Occupied 1623: French portion of S. Kitts ceded 1713.
Bahamas. . .	1629	Occupied 1629; held by Spaniards, 1641-66, 1703-18.
Jamaica . . .	**1655**	Captured from Spain, under Oliver Cromwell, and ceded by the *Treaty of Madrid*, 1670.
		Note.—**S. Lucia** was held by Englishmen, 1639-40, 1664-7.
V. America:—		
i. South Colonies. Virginia . . .	**1607**	After Ralegh's failures (1583-9), the London Co. planted a successful colony, **1607**; escheated to Crown, 1624.
Maryland . .	1634	A Roman Catholic colony founded by Lord Baltimore.
Carolina . . .	1663	Founded 1663; divided into two colonies, 1712.
ii. New England. Massachusetts.	**1629**	This colony, chartered in 1629, absorbed the **Plymouth Colony** of the Pilgrim Fathers, established 1620.
Maine. . . .	1627	Both colonies fell under the dominion of Massachusetts till the American Revolution.
New Hampshire	1627	
Connecticut. .	1639	Formed by the self-union of three separate colonies. Wethersfield, Windsor, and Hartford; founded 1635-6.
Rhode Island .	1644	**Providence**, one of its constituent colonies, fd. by Roger Williams, 1636. *Others:* Newport, Warwick, 1738-9.
iii. Mid. Colonies. New York . .	**1664**	Formed the New Netherlands, founded 1613, seized by the English 1664, and ceded by the *Treaty of Breda*, 1667.
New Jersey . .	1664	
Pennsylvania .	1682	A Quaker colony founded by William Penn, 1682.
		Note.—The above colonies, with **Georgia** (founded in 1733), severed their connection with England, 1776-83.
iv. North Colonies. Newfoundland .	1713	Discovered by the Cabots, 1497. All finally ceded to Great Britain by the *Anglo-French Treaty of Utrecht*, 1713.
Nova Scotia. .	1713	Granted to the Scotsman, Sir William Alexander, 1621.
Hudson's Bay T. *or* Rupertsland	1713	Occupied for fur-trading, 1670.
v. Bermudas . .	1609	Declared English by Sir George Somers, who was wrecked there in 1609; colonised 1616.

CHAPTER I.

WILLIAM AND MARY, 1689-1694.

A. PERSONAL HISTORY.—William and Mary were declared joint rulers of England, France, and Ireland by the English Convention on February 13, 1689; they were declared joint rulers of Scotland by the Scottish Convention on May 11, 1689. Mary was the eldest daughter of James, Duke of York—afterwards James II.—by his first wife, Anne Hyde; born, April 30, 1662; married her cousin, William of Orange, November 4, 1677; died at Kensington, December 28, 1694; buried at Westminster. For William III.'s personal history see next chapter: for his family connections with the Stuarts see Table, p. xvi.

B. CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

PAPACY.	EMPIRE.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	POLAND.	RUSSIA.
Alexander VIII. (1689) Innocent XII. (1691)	Leopold I. (1658-1705)	Louis XIV. (1643-1715)	Charles II. (1665-1700) (*Last of the Spanish Hapsburgs*)	John Sobieski (1677-1697)	Peter the Great (1689-1725)

C. TOPICS OF THE REIGN.

(i) **International**: *relations with*—
(1) France: §§ 274, 283-287.
(2) The Netherlands: §§ 283, 285.

(ii) **Constitutional**:
(*b*) *Non-English*—
(1) Scotland: §§ 280, 281.
(2) Ireland: §§ 282-284.

(ii) **Constitutional**: (*a*) *English*—
(1) Ministers: §§ 274, 288.
(2) Church: § 277.
(3) Army: § 276.
(4) Finance: §§ 275, 288.
(5) Parliament: §§ 275-279, 288, 289.
(6) Royal Succession: §§ 278, 289.

I. THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT IN THE THREE KINGDOMS, 1689-1691.

274. William's Ministers and Party Relationships, 1689.—William took little interest in English domestic politics: what he wanted was to have England, or rather all the three British kingdoms, solid at his back in his struggle

against the predominance of France in Europe. In order to gain this support he chose his ministers from all parties—more especially picking out those party-leaders who had actively assisted him to the throne: Danby, who became Marquess of Caermarthen and Duke of Leeds, was President of the Council; Shrewsbury, Secretary of State; Edward Russell and Arthur Herbert, at the Admiralty. These four had all signed the invitation sent him after the acquittal of the Seven Bishops. The other leading ministers were the three men who had been employed in the Hungerford negotiations between James and William—Halifax, Privy Seal; Nottingham, the Tory colleague of the Whig Shrewsbury in the Secretariate of State; and Godolphin, at the Treasury. After the Revolution the Secretaryships of State became more and more important, while some of the older offices were weakened in power. Partly to diminish the power of individuals, partly to have more offices for distribution amongst the supporters of the Government, the practice of assigning the work of the great officials, the Lord Treasurer and the Lord High Admiral, to a Committee or Board—the Treasury and Admiralty respectively—now became more and more common. At the same time James II.'s bench of judges was dismissed, and its place taken by one of a better stamp.

275. The Work of the Convention Parliament, February 1689–January 1690: (i) **Finance.**—The Convention, which had declared William and Mary to be King and Queen, was itself declared to be a lawful Parliament by its own nominees. Its main business was to consolidate and give practical application to the general principles laid down in the *Declaration of Right*. In finance it made several notable changes: besides voting more than half a million for the Navy, and a similar sum to recoup the Dutch for their expenses in aiding the Revolution, this Parliament began to draw a distinction between the ordinary and the extraordinary expenses of the Crown, and, while making a life-grant for the former (about

£700,000 a year, in addition to the hereditary revenue of £500,000), resolved to supply the latter by special grants for short periods only. In this session William promised facilities for parliamentary *audit* of accounts, and in a few years' time the practice of parliamentary *appropriation* of supplies came into regular and systematic use. Broadly speaking, the Protestant Revolution resulted in establishing parliamentary control over the *expenditure*, as the Puritan Revolution had resulted in establishing parliamentary control over the *revenue*, of the Crown.

276. (ii) **The Army.**—The Parliament was able to hit upon a device which met both the felt needs of the time for a regular army and also the strong and anxious prejudice against such an army. The national *well-being* seemed in danger if the Crown permanently possessed those exceptional powers of restraining the liberty of citizens which are necessary to maintain the discipline of a standing army; but, on the other hand, the very *being* of the nation was in danger if England lacked trained forces similar to those of her Continental neighbours. Accordingly, in March 1689 a *Mutiny Act* authorised the Government, for six months only, to punish by martial law all manner of insubordination or desertion by soldiers in the pay of the Crown. The Act was renewed for short periods, and its principle is still maintained in the modern *Annual Army Act*: thus the legal power of the Government over the Army depends on the continuance of the confidence of the Parliament.

277. (iii) **The Church.**—Besides providing for the financial and military necessities of the new Government, Parliament endeavoured to protect it from internal treachery by requiring all office-holders in Church and in State to take new Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. Some three hundred of the Anglican clergy, including Sancroft and most of the Seven Bishops, held to their doctrine of non-resistance and declined to take the new oaths: they were therefore ejected

from their offices and, with their handful of followers, became known as the Non-Jurors. This body maintained its existence and independence, claiming to be "the true Church of England," for more than a century. At the same time fresh penal laws were enacted against Popish Recusants, while the Protestant Nonconformists were rewarded for their support of the Revolution with the *Toleration Act* of May 1689. By this Act all English Nonconformists—save Roman Catholics and Unitarians—were permitted to assemble for public worship on condition that the meeting-houses were registered, that the meetings were held with open doors, and that the ministers took the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. This measure of relief was much less extensive than that which William and Mary followed James II. in advocating: it applied only to *Dissenters—i.e.* Nonconformists who were not only Protestant but also Trinitarian; and it did not extend to the removal of *civil* disabilities. But on the other hand it rested on statutory sanction, not on a strained use of the Prerogative, and it did not run counter to the national prejudices of the day. The *Toleration Act* is important as being the death and burial of two propositions heretofore taken for granted by the English Law:—

(*a*) That the English Church and the English Nation are co-extensive in membership—barely distinguishable aspects of the same thing.

(*b*) That it is the duty of the Christian State to train all its members in *the one true* (whatever it be) form of Christian Truth.

278. The Bill of Rights, October 1689.—Parliament was prorogued in August and met for its second session in October. The principal achievement of this session was the turning of the *Declaration of Right* into statutory form as the *Bill of Rights*. There were two important alterations: the Dispensing Power was entirely abolished; and the English Crown was declared incapable of descending to, or remaining in, any

person who became a Papist or married a Papist. The Whigs, having thus at last carried their *Exclusion Bill* in a generalised shape, endeavoured to clip the wings of their Tory opponents by inflicting permanent disabilities on all persons who had connived at the remodelling of the corporations during the last two reigns. William, who wanted to heal, not to perpetuate, party rancour, dissolved his factious Parliament in January 1690.

279. The Act of Grace, May 1690.—The second Parliament, which met two months later, had a Tory majority. It threw out a *Bill of Abjuration* requiring the office-holder to abjure King James (cp. § 301), and gladly gave its consent to William's *Act of Grace*, whereby indemnity was given to all political offenders except the surviving Regicides and thirty others. The King was thus, after fifteen months' parliamentary strife in England, able to give personal attention to pressing matters elsewhere.

280. The Scots Revolution, 1689-1690.—When James II. withdrew his troops from Scotland to oppose the Prince of Orange, the Covenanters rose against their oppressors, and there ensued the riots known as "the Rabbling of the [Episcopalian] Clergy." By the advice of some of the Scots nobility who were with him, William sent three Scottish regiments which had been serving under him on the Continent to restore order, and also summoned a Convention to meet at Edinburgh. When this body seemed likely to follow the lead of the English Convention in substituting William and Mary for James, many of the partisans of James—now called *Jacobites* from *Jacobus*, the Latin form of his name—repudiated the Convention and appealed to arms under the leadership of Claverhouse, whom James had created Viscount Dundee. Thereupon the Convention drew up a *Claim of Right*, declaring that James had "forfeited" the Scots crown, and offering it to William and Mary, who accepted the offer in May 1689. The death of Dundee, in a fight in the

Pass of Killiecrankie in July, practically ended the armed opposition of the Highland clans; and in October 1690 William and Mary secured themselves in possession by giving their consent to an Act of the General Assembly re-establishing Presbyterianism in the Scots Kirk. The usual precautionary measures were passed against Scottish Nonconformists, both Roman Catholics and Protestant Episcopalians of the Anglican school; but on the whole the Revolution church-settlement in Scotland was temperate. William thus expressed his own views in a message to the General Assembly:—

"We could never be of the mind that violence was suited to the advancing of true religion; nor do we intend that our authority shall ever be a tool to the irregular passions of any party. Moderation is what religion requires; neighbouring churches expect it from you; and we recommend it to you."

281. The Massacre of Glencoe, February 1692.—It was easier to "intend" than to attain such moderation. The acts of the Convention and of the General Assembly had comparatively little interest for the Highlands, where the clans still lived in patriarchal style under their chiefs and supported themselves largely by cattle-stealing. Nor did the Highlanders take kindly to a Revolution which restored to power the hated clan of Campbell But after the dispersion of their forces and the establishment of Fort William in the heart of the Highlands, most of the chieftains obeyed the order, rendered attractive by gifts of money, to take the Oath of Allegiance before December 31, 1691. Ian MacDonald of Glencoe accidentally failed to comply with these conditions; and William's ministers, not knowing that he had made his submission after the time had expired, resolved to make him a terrible example. In February 1692 a detachment of troops, mainly belonging to the Campbell connection, was quartered on the Macdonald clan and enjoyed its hospitality for several days. Then, early one morning,

the troops rose treacherously against their hosts and successfully carried out William's order "to extirpate that sect of thieves."

282. Third English Conquest of Ireland: (i) Siege of Londonderry, 1689.—While Scotland obtained a religious settlement agreeable to the majority of its people as the reward for accepting the change of dynasty, Ireland took a different course and received different treatment. James II.'s policy had suited the religious feelings of the majority of the Irish nation; and the bulk of that nation remained true to his cause after it had failed in the sister kingdoms. In March 1689 James landed at Kinsale and at once held a Parliament in Dublin which, representing the opinion of the Roman Catholic majority, repealed the Restoration *Acts of Settlement*, and attainted a large number of Protestants. Meanwhile the Protestant inhabitants of Ulster took refuge in the towns of Londonderry and Enniskillen, and there contrived to beat off the attacks of the besiegers. After undergoing great privations, Londonderry was relieved by Kirke in July 1689; and a few days later the Enniskilleners sallied forth and won a victory at Newtown Butler.

283. (ii) Battles of the Boyne and Beachy Head, 1690.—In June 1690 William took the field in person against his rival. Landing near Belfast with an army of English and Dutch troops, he pushed south towards Dublin, and in July won so complete a victory at the battle of the Boyne that James at once fled to France. William occupied Dublin and laid siege to Limerick, but was driven off by Patrick Sarsfield. William then returned to England, while John Churchill, Earl of Marlborough, formerly an intimate friend of James II., overran the south of Ireland. The struggle was not yet over: on the day before the battle of the Boyne the French fleet under Tourville had completely defeated the Anglo-Dutch fleet under Herbert, now Lord Torrington, off Beachy Head, and, by obtaining the command of the seas,

had acquired the power of transporting troops in safety from France to Ireland.

284. (iii) **Siege and Treaty of Limerick, 1691.**—The French troops did not work smoothly with their Irish allies: none the less, they made a stubborn struggle in the final campaign of 1691. In July Ginkel, having taken Athlone, defeated the Franco-Irish army at Aghrim; the French commander, St. Ruth, fell in the battle; but his successor, Sarsfield, held Limerick for nearly two months before he was obliged to surrender in October 1691. The *Treaty of Limerick* permitted the Irishmen who had fought for James to leave the country with their personal property, and also contained certain stipulations relating to the non-combatants. Under the military capitulation over 30,000 fighting men were conveyed to France: the civil articles were not observed, and they have therefore been branded with the name of the *Broken Treaty*. More than a million acres of land were confiscated; the Roman Catholics were shut out from all offices and professions, and were forbidden to meet for religious worship; while additional restrictions were placed on the trade and industries of Ireland in the supposed interests of English agriculture and manufactures. The English and the Irish Parliaments worked together to build up both the Penal Code and the Commercial Code; and for nearly a century Ireland lay crushed beneath the heel of the Anglo-Protestant ascendancy (§ 410).

II. The Defence of the Revolution, 1691-1694.

285. Theatres of the War of the English Succession, 1688-1697.—The fighting in the European War which, from a British point of view, is called the War of the English Succession, took place not only in Scotland and in Ireland and on the seas, but also in the Southern Netherlands—"the cock-pit of Europe." There for the next six summers after

the Boyne campaign William III. commanded in person the troops of the Allies. He seldom won a battle, but on the whole he maintained his ground and kept France in check. Throughout he was hampered not only by the difficulty of managing a number of quarrelsome allies, but also by the jealousy of the Dutch Burgher party, by parliamentary wranglings, and by the half-heartedness of his ministers in England. Most of the British politicians of the day, thinking it likely that there would be a second Restoration, took care to be on the safe side by holding communication with the exiled James II., and occasionally sending information of William's designs. For instance, Torrington was suspected —though unjustly—of losing the battle of Beachy Head in order to curry favour with James; and early in 1692, for a similar but better-grounded reason, William had to dismiss Marlborough, whom he regarded as the greatest military genius in his service, and who more than justified William's estimate during the great wars of Anne's reign (1702-1713).

286. Battles of La Hogue and Steinkirk, 1692.—William's first campaign on the Continent was marked by his failure to save the fortress of Mons; his second, by his defeat at Steinkirk in August 1692, and by his failure to relieve Namur. But these defeats were more than counterbalanced by Russell's great naval victory in a running fight with Tourville off La Hogue in May 1692. This victory not only stopped a projected invasion of England, but also restored to the English Navy the command of the seas. It also illustrated how the dependence of James on French help weakened the Jacobite cause. Russell himself was prepared to welcome James back, but he was not prepared to accept defeat at the hands of the French; even James, watching the defeat of his hopes from the shore, showed his sympathy with the national spirit by exclaiming, "See how my brave English fight!"

287. Fighting by Land and Sea, 1693-1694.—In July 1693 William was badly beaten by Luxembourg at Landen or

Neerwinden. In the preceding month Tourville surprised the valuable Smyrna fleet off Lagos in Portugal, as it was sailing from London to the Mediterranean, defeated Rooke's convoying squadron, and captured or sunk nearly three hundred merchantmen. In June 1694 an unsuccessful attack on Brest was made.

288. English Finance, 1693-1694.—All this fighting not only compelled the English to learn again the art of war, but also involved the devising of new financial expedients to bear the strain of a prolonged struggle. These new expedients—for which Godolphin and Charles Montague, afterwards Earl of Halifax, were largely responsible—consisted partly in improvements in methods of taxation, partly in the transfer of the burden of the war to posterity by the borrowing of the surplus wealth of the merchant class. The National Debt dates from 1693, when the Government borrowed £1,000,000, not on the personal security of the King, but on the parliamentary security of the nation. In the following year a group of Whig capitalists, in return for a loan of £1,200,000 at 8 %, received a charter to found the Bank of England, and became the chief financial agents of the Government. The advantages were mutual: the Bank, having a well-secured income from the Government, could offer greater facilities than its private competitors both for depositors and for borrowers; and the Government obtained not only the financial but the political support of the moneyed classes.

289. Death of Queen Mary, December 1694.—Finance took up most of the time of the second Parliament of William and Mary; but in its last session, despite the King's opposition, it passed an important constitutional measure limiting the duration of Parliament to three years. A few days after this *Third Triennial Act* became law, the then virulent and common disease, smallpox, deprived William of his consort, Queen Mary.

CHAPTER II.

WILLIAM III., 1694-1702.

A. Personal History.—Posthumous son of William II., Prince of Orange, etc., by Mary, elder daughter of Charles I. of England: born at The Hague, November 4, 1650; elected Stadtholder of Holland, etc., July 8, 1672; married Mary, elder daughter of James, Duke of York, afterwards James II., November 4, 1677; succeeded his father-in-law as King of England, etc., February 13, 1689, as King of Scotland, May 11, 1689; sole monarch after his wife's death, December 28, 1694; died at Kensington, March 8, 1702; buried at Westminster, no children. For his family connections see Table, p. xvi.

B. Contemporary Rulers.

Empire.	Papacy.	France.	Spain.	Sweden.	Russia.
Leopold I. (1658-1705)	Innocent XII. (1691) Clement XI. (1700-1720)	Louis XIV. (1643-1715)	Charles II. (1665-1700) (*Last of the Spanish Hapsburgs*)	Charles XI. (1660) Charles XII. (1697-1718)	Peter the Great (1689-1725)

C. Topics of the Reign.

(i) **International**: *relations with*—
- (1) France: §§ 293, 295, 298, 300.
- (2) The Netherlands: §§ 293, 295, 296.
- (3) The Empire: §§ 295, 298.
- (4) Spain: §§ 296-298, 301.
- (5) Hanover: § 299.

(ii) **Constitutional.**
- (1) Ministers: §§ 291, 296, 299, 300.
- (2) Finance: §§ 294, 296.
- (3) Press: §§ 292, 301.
- (4) Army: § 296.
- (5) Royal Succession: §§ 290, 293, 299, 300.
- (6) Ireland: § 296.
- (7) Scotland: § 297.
- (8) Colonies: § 302.

I. Conclusion of the War of the English Succession, 1695-1697.

290. Effects of Queen Mary's Death on William's Position.—The death of Queen Mary seriously weakened the position of William III. She was a Stuart, and, assuming the

spuriousness of James II.'s son, the next heir to the throne after her father; her domestic virtues and warmheartedness made her personally popular; and her tactful energy did much to smooth the working of the machinery of government, the direction of which she had voluntarily left in her husband's hands. Her death left William exposed to the full brunt of the dislike which his foreign extraction and his cold manner excited in the mind of the average Englishman. In particular the Tories, who somehow salved their consciences for their "sin" in deserting James by the thought that the natural course of events had only been anticipated by a few years in the elevation of his daughter to the throne, tended to drift more and more away from their allegiance to the King; and the years following Mary's death were exceptionally full of Jacobite intrigues.

291. Experiment in Party-Government, 1695-1698.—The consciousness of isolation caused by Mary's death impelled William to adopt a plan recommended by Sunderland to secure steadiness and strength in the Government. Sunderland pointed out to the King that his ministers would work better together if they held similar political views, and that they would be less hampered by the growing interference of the House of Commons if the ministers were of the same party complexion as the majority in the House of Commons; and, applying these principles to the political situation at the time, he further pointed out that the Whigs, who happened to have a parliamentary majority at the moment, were satisfied with his title to the crown, and were hearty supporters of the war in which that title was being vindicated. There was no definite "change of ministry" as in our own day, but as Tory ministers dropped off one by one Whigs took their places, and from 1697 to 1699 all the principal ministers were Whigs. The chief four—Somers, Lord Keeper; Montague, First Lord of the Treasury after Godolphin's retirement; Russell, and Thomas Wharton—were called "the Junto." This Junto

forms a kind of half-way house between the Cabal of Charles II.'s time—a mere group of royal favourites—and our modern Cabinet—an organised group of party-leaders under a Prime Minister.

292. Lapse of the Licensing Act, 1695.—The censorship of the Press and the other regulations about printing authorised by the *Licensing Act*—first passed in 1662 and periodically renewed since that time—had not worked satisfactorily; and in 1695 Parliament, not having time to amend the machinery, allowed the Act to expire. The increasing strength of the State as compared with all other organisations in the country made it less timorous of criticism; and since 1695 the Government, instead of directly attempting to prevent the publication of opinions or statements, has contented itself with leaving the law-courts to decide whether anything actually published is in any way harmful to the general weal.

293. Jacobite Plots and the Loyal Association, 1696.—Early in 1696 two notable Jacobite schemes came to light: James, Duke of Berwick, an illegitimate son of James II. by Marlborough's sister Arabella, proposed to invade England with a French force, while William was to be seized, and, if necessary, his throat cut. William's recapture of Namur in October 1695 had made him popular for the moment; many who had no liking for William had still less liking for French invasions and nocturnal assassinations; and the discovery of the twin plot roused a burst of enthusiasm, which expressed itself, among other ways, in the formation of a Loyal Association like that of 1585. Among those who were executed for their share in the murder scheme was Sir John Fenwick, who was the last person to suffer death by Act of Attainder. The reason for adopting this extra-judicial procedure was that, owing to the abduction of one of the witnesses, there was not enough evidence to convict him under the recent *Treason-Trials Act*, which gave persons accused of treason facilities for defending themselves,

and required at least two witnesses of each overt act of treason.

294. Restoration of the Currency, 1696.—Those who donned the orange ribbon of the Loyal Association pledged themselves to support the war against France. But for this purpose money was required as well as zeal; and the year 1696 witnessed some notable attempts to improve the financial strength of England. Robert Harley promoted a scheme called the Land-Bank, which was an attempt to make the Government indebted to the Tory landowners in the same way as the Bank of England made it indebted to the Whig merchant interest. As the landowners had no ready money to spare the scheme failed utterly; but the Bank of England speedily found the money required immediately for the war. At the same time the general financial position of the country was permanently benefited by the restoration of the currency. Since Elizabeth's time the coinage had been going from bad to worse; the coins were badly shaped and easy to "clip"; and the result was that they were frequently worth in weight less than half their face-value. By the advice of the politicians Montague and Somers, and under the practical management of the philosophers John Locke and Isaac Newton, the old coinage was superseded in 1696 by a new coinage, secured against defacement by the use of "milled" edges. The Government, by giving good coins for bad, bore the immediate loss caused by the change—more than £1,000,000; but it profited in the long run by the consequent improvement in trade and credit. At the same time Montague persuaded Parliament to pledge the entire public resources of the country as security for the public liabilities.

295. Peace of Ryswick, 1697.—The financial power of England and the United Provinces was having its effect in the struggle against France. Louis XIV. had better troops, but he could not bring them to bear even on the United Netherlands, much less on the island-kingdom, the control of

which he had so lightly allowed to pass to the ablest of his antagonists. In September and October 1697 he made peace with all his enemies—England, the United Provinces, Spain, the Empire, and several of the princes within the Empire—in the group of treaties known as the *Peace of Ryswick*. He abandoned all conquests since 1678, except Strassburg, and formally recognised the Protestant Succession in the British Isles.

II. The Swing of the Party Pendulum, 1698-1702.

296. Parliamentary Attacks on William, 1698-1700.—Both William and Louis regarded the peace merely as a breathing space, and silently set about the work of making ready for the approaching scramble for the Spanish dominions. But here William stood almost alone. The National Debt had risen during the war to more than £14,000,000, an amount which filled the politicians of those days with alarm: the standing army was regarded as both costly and dangerous to the Constitution. Hence, while William wished to keep up the Army as the best guarantee of peace, Parliament wished to take advantage of the peace to reduce the Army. Early in 1698 it succeeded in reducing the Army to 10,000. Later in the year a new Parliament, in which the Tories had a majority, vented its spleen on "the little Dutchman" by insisting that William's Dutch guards should be sent home—thus reducing the army to 7,000—and by ordering an inquiry into William's gifts of confiscated lands in Ireland. Finding that a large portion of these lands had been given to favourites of Dutch extraction, Parliament in 1700 cancelled all grants by a *Resumption Act*.

297. The Darien Scheme, 1698-1700.—Meanwhile William had raised a storm in Scotland also by his supposed opposition to the Darien Scheme. William Paterson, the Scots promoter of the Bank of England, had floated an African Company

intended to give Scotsmen opportunities to trade with Africa and the East Indies. The Scheme included the formation of a settlement on the Isthmus of Darien or Panama; but owing partly to the unhealthiness of the climate, partly to the opposition of Spain, the "New Caledonia" was an utter failure. The loss of lives and money was a great blow to a poor country like Scotland; and the failure was ascribed to the King.

298. The Partition Treaties, 1698-1700.—Louis XIV. had partly accepted defeat on the question of the English Succession in order to have his hands free for the more pressing and profitable question of the Spanish Succession (Table, p. 43). Charles II. of Spain was the last male descendant through males of the Spanish branch of the House of Hapsburg; and throughout his reign (1665-1700) there was anxiety among statesmen as to what was to become of his vast possessions all over the world when his sickly life gave out. His nearest blood-connections were his cousins of the Austrian Hapsburg and of the French Bourbon lines; but considerations of the Balance of Power made diplomatists unwilling to regard the succession merely on the basis of family arrangements. Accordingly various schemes of partition among the different claimants were devised, in the last of which England was actively concerned. In October 1698 the two Protestant Sea-Powers, England and the United Netherlands, came to terms with France, in the *First Partition Treaty*, whereby most of the Spanish dominions were assigned to the least formidable of the three claimants, Joseph, Electoral Prince of Bavaria. He died in the following year; and in March 1700 a *Second Partition Treaty* allotted the greater part of the plunder to the Archduke Charles of Austria, and the lesser part—including Naples, Sicily, and the Milanese—to the Dauphin. But when Charles II. died in the following November, leaving the whole of his possessions to Philip, Duke of Anjou, younger son of the Dauphin, Louis XIV.

threw over the treaty and accepted the will. The Hapsburg protested, but he could do nothing effective without the help of England; and in April 1701 William was constrained by Parliament to recognise the Bourbon claimant.

299. Act of Settlement, June 1701.—The death of William Duke of Gloucester in July 1700 interested Englishmen more than the death of Charles II. of Spain. He was the last of the numerous but short-lived children of Queen Mary's sister Anne; and his death left the English succession open after the death of William III. and his sister-in-law. Accordingly in June 1701 Parliament made further provision for the royal succession: setting aside the descendants of James II. and of his sister Henrietta—who were excluded as "Papists" under the *Bill of Rights*—the *Act of Settlement* settled the crown, after Anne's death, on Sophia, Electress of Hanover, as the next Protestant heir (Table, p. xvi). In return for regulating the royal succession in accordance with Whig ideas, the Tories were allowed to insert in the Act a number of constitutional provisions—some of them repealed as impracticable before they came into effect—which were designed to prevent the House of Hanover from adopting various practices that helped to make William III. additionally objectionable in Tory eyes:—

(1) Whoever shall come into possession of the English crown shall join in communion with the Church of England as by law established.

(2) This nation shall not be obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any territories which do not belong to the crown of England, without the consent of Parliament.

(3) The Sovereign shall not go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without the consent of Parliament.

(4) All matters relating to the well-governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognisable in the Privy Council, shall be transacted there, and all resolutions taken thereon shall be signed by such of the Privy Council as shall advise and consent to the same.

(5) No person born out of the three kingdoms, although he be naturalised, shall be "capable to be of the Privy Council," or a member of either House, or to enjoy any office or place of trust.

(6) No person who has an office or place of profit under the King shall be capable of serving as a member of the Commons.

(7) Judges' commissions shall be made *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and their salaries shall be ascertained and established; but upon the address of both Houses it may be lawful to remove them.

(8) No pardon under the Great Seal shall be pleadable to an impeachment by the Commons.

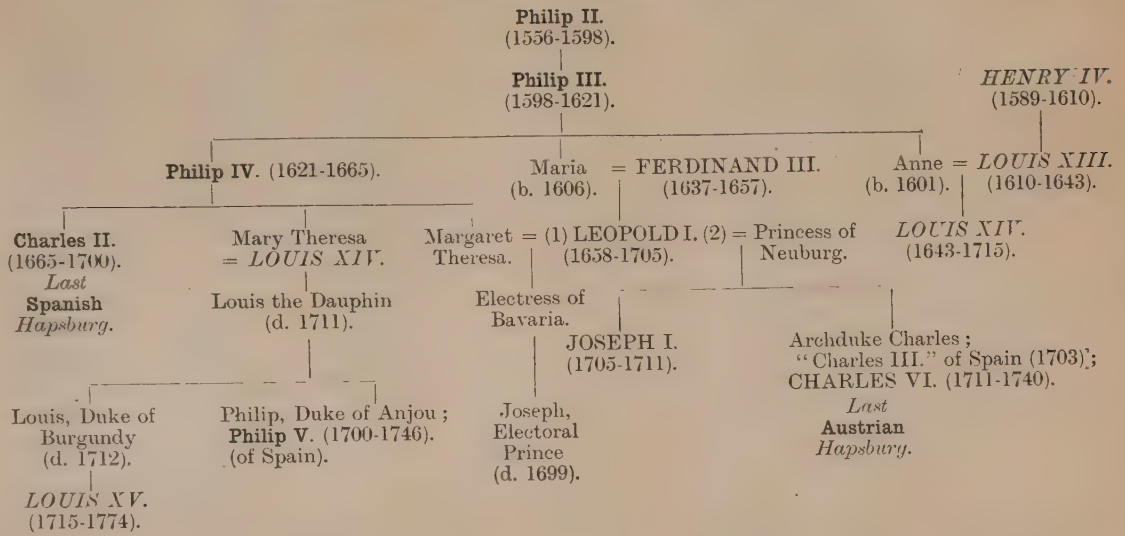
300. Death of James II., September 1701.—The House of Commons which thus obliquely censured William's conduct by inserting these safeguards into the *Act of Settlement*, and which compelled him to acknowledge the new Bourbon King of Spain, also attacked him more directly by impeaching three members of the Junto—Somers, Halifax (Montague), and Russell (now Earl of Orford)—and his especial friend William Bentinck, Duke of Portland. Their main fault was their connivance in the *Partition Treaties*. The impeachment fell through, and the continued attacks on the King were already causing disgust among moderate men, when Louis XIV. accelerated the turn of the tide in William's favour by acknowledging James Edward Stuart, "the Old Pretender," as King of England on his father's death in September 1701.

301. Death of William III., March 1702.—Louis XIV.'s act of generous impolicy made it clear that Englishmen must accept as their king either a foreigner selected by their own Parliament, or a native Stuart imposed on them by a foreign potentate. That very insular feeling which Daniel Defoe had laughed to scorn in the *Trueborn Englishman* (1701) rallied the nation round William III. He built up a Grand Alliance to support the Hapsburg claimant against the Bourbon possessor of the Spanish throne; and he found his new Parliament sufficiently in his favour to carry bills attainting "the pretended

King" and compelling all officers in Church and State, and all members of the Universities, to abjure the Stuart cause (§ 279). In the height of his triumph, and before open hostilities commenced, William broke his collar-bone, and died on March 8, 1702.

302. The East India Company, 1600-1698.—The close of the seventeenth century witnessed many notable extensions in the English outlook upon the world outside Europe. In 1699 William Dampier was sent out by the Government to explore the unknown regions of New Holland or Australia. Foreign and Colonial missionary work within the Church of England was inaugurated by the foundation of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge" in 1698, and of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" three years later. The name Fort William (Calcutta) reminds us that it was in the reign of William III. that the East India Company obtained a permanent foothold in Bengal. The Company, since its foundation in 1600, had removed its principal field of operations from the Spice Islands to India, and had there established many trading stations or "factories." Its success roused much jealousy and many attempts to break its monopoly; and in 1698 Montague took advantage of these commercial jealousies to allow a group of Whig capitalists, in return for a loan to Government, to found a new "English" Company in opposition to the Tory "London" Company. But the old concern had too strong a grip on the trade to allow successful competition by the new company: the two companies made a pooling agreement in 1702, and amalgamated in 1708. It was this united company which, half a century later, began to acquire the "Empire of Indostan" (§§ 366-369).

Pedigree Illustrating the Spanish Succession.


Philip II. (1556-1598).
Philip III. (1598-1621).
HENRY IV. (1589-1610).
Philip IV. (1621-1665).
Maria (b. 1606).
= FERDINAND III. (1637-1657).
Anne (b. 1601).
= LOUIS XIII. (1610-1643).
Charles II. (1665-1700). Last Spanish Hapsburg.
Mary Theresa = LOUIS XIV.
Louis the Dauphin (d. 1711).
Margaret Theresa.
= (1) LEOPOLD I. (1658-1705).
(2) = Princess of Neuburg.
LOUIS XIV. (1643-1715).
Electress of Bavaria.
JOSEPH I. (1705-1711).
Archduke Charles; "Charles III." of Spain (1703); CHARLES VI. (1711-1740). Last Austrian Hapsburg.
Louis, Duke of Burgundy (d. 1712).
Philip, Duke of Anjou; Philip V. (1700-1746). (of Spain).
Joseph, Electoral Prince (d. 1699).
LOUIS XV. (1715-1774).

NOTE.—The double dates within parentheses give the periods during which a title is held; the Emperors are in ROMAN CAPITALS the French Sovereigns in *ITALIC CAPITALS*; the Spanish Sovereigns in dark type.

CHAPTER III.

QUEEN ANNE, 1702-1714.

A. Personal History.—Youngest daughter of James II., by his first wife, Anne Hyde; born at St. James's Palace, February 5, 1664; in 1683, after being sought in marriage by George Lewis, of Hanover (her successor), married George (1653-1708), second son of Frederick III., King of Denmark; of her seventeen children all died in infancy except William, Duke of Gloucester, who died July 30, 1700 (aged eleven); under the terms of the *Bill of Rights*, 1689, and *Act of Settlement*, 1701, succeeded her brother-in-law, William III., as Queen of England, etc., March 8, 1702; became Queen of Great Britain, May 1, 1707; died at Kensington, August 1, 1714; buried in Westminster Abbey. For family connections see Table, p. xvi.

B. Contemporary Rulers.

Papacy.	Empire.	Prussia.	France.	Spain.	Sweden.	Russia.
Clement XI. (1700-1721)	Leopold I. (1658) Joseph I. (1705) Charles VI. (1711)	Frederick I. *Brandenburg* (1688-1713) *First King of Prussia*, 1701	Louis XIV. (1643-1715)	Philip V. (1700-1746) Rival Claimant (*Hapsburg*): Archduke Charles	Charles XII. (1697-1718)	Peter the Great (1689-1725)

C. Topics of the Reign.

(i) **International**: *relations with*—
- (1) France: §§ 303, 305-308, 311-316, 320.
- (2) Spain: §§ 303, 305-308, 311-315, 316, 320.
- (3) Portugal: § 306.
- (4) Savoy: § 305.
- (5) Netherlands: §§ 303, 305-308, 312, 315, 316.
- (6) Empire: §§ 308, 317, 319.
- (7) Sweden: § 311.

(ii) **Constitutional.**
- (1) Ministers: §§ 304, 314, 318.
- (2) Parliament: §§ 309, 310, 319, 322.
- (3) Succession: §§ 312, 322.
- (4) Church: §§ 317, 318, 321.
- (5) Scotland: §§ 309, 310, 321.
- (6) Ireland: § 309.
- (7) Colonies: § 320.

I. Marlborough's Early Triumphs, 1702-1706.

303. Motives in the War of the Spanish Succession.—Queen Anne and her friends the Churchills (Lord and Lady

Marlborough) had frequently been on bad terms with the late King; but towards the close of his reign they became reconciled to him, and they now took up his policy of war against the Bourbons. War was formally declared in May 1702, and it lasted for eleven years (§ 320). This struggle had many other motives besides that expressed in its general name—the "War of the Spanish Succession"; and some of these were commercial rather than dynastic.

England was mainly interested in upholding the Protestant Succession, and in preventing France from excluding Englishmen from all hopes of participation in the trade of Spanish America. Her principal ally was the United Netherlands, which had now become so closely connected with England that diplomatists habitually spoke of them together as "the Sea Powers." The United Provinces were chiefly alarmed lest France should acquire such a hold over the Spanish Netherlands as to be able to threaten Dutch independence. Other Powers on the Continent were in various ways anxious lest the close dynastic connection between France and Spain should affect them harmfully: they therefore united against Louis XIV., nominally maintaining the cause of the Archduke Charles against that of "Philip of Anjou," but really each intent on its several interests. England took part in the campaigns in the Netherlands, in Spain and on the sea, but there were other areas of war than these.*

304. Marlborough-Godolphin Administration, 1702-1710.—Louis XIV. had sole control of his affairs, while his enemies were divided in locality, in interests, and in leadership. The one thing which for many years kept the jealous Allies working together towards a common object, and with a fair measure of success, was the military and diplomatic genius of Marlborough. Like William III., Marlborough had many

* There is a detailed synoptic view of the chief events of the War in the *Intermediate Text-Book of English History*, Vol. III., pp. 294, 295.

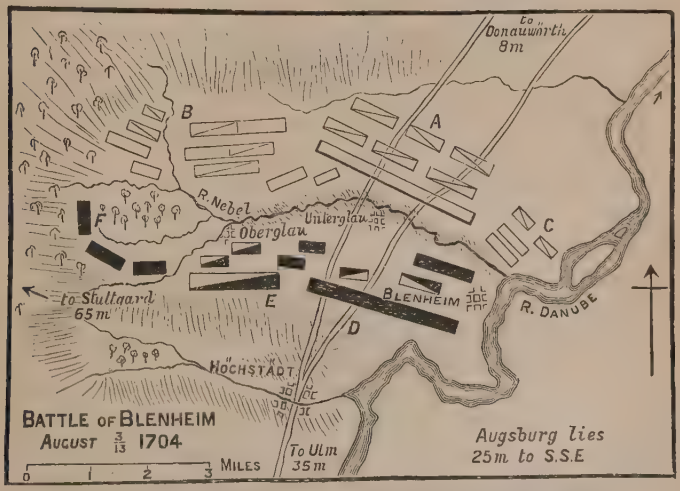
qualities which do not commend themselves to the eye of the moralist; but he also possessed that rare power of devising sound plans and carrying them into execution which makes the great statesman. While he was busy abroad, his position was maintained at home by the influence which his wife, the "Queen's Favourite" of dramatic fiction, had over the sovereign—they were so familiar that in their correspondence the Queen was "Mrs. Morley" and the Duchess "Mrs. Freeman"—and by the influence in Parliament of Godolphin, a friend and marriage-connection of Marlborough, who held the position of Lord Treasurer. At first, the Marlborough-Godolphin Administration consisted of members of both parties; but in the years 1703-1704 the High Tories Rochester and Nottingham gave place to the more moderate Tories, Robert Harley and Henry St. John; and a few years later the Tories were wholly eliminated, leaving in power, as for a brief period in William III.'s reign (§ 291), a group of ministers belonging to one party only (§ 314).

305. The War in 1702-1703.—The weakness of the Allies was clearly exhibited in the first two years of the War. In 1702 Admiral Benbow was defeated in the West Indies; and defeat was the common lot of most of the opponents of France. But these military reverses were more than counterbalanced by two diplomatic successes in the adhesion of Portugal and Savoy to the Grand Alliance. The Duke of Savoy was afraid that, if Bourbons were established in Milan as well as in France, his existence as an independent prince would not long survive. Marlborough, moreover, conducted two successful campaigns in the Southern Netherlands, obtaining a hold of the country as far as Bonn in order to keep in touch with the German princes who were ranged against Louis XIV.

306. The Methuen Treaty, 1703.—Portugal was persuaded to join the Alliance partly through her traditional jealousy of Spain, partly through commercial considerations. The

Anglo-Portuguese treaty, negotiated by Methuen in May 1703, admitted Portuguese wines into England, and English woollens into Portugal, at lower rates than the similar products of any other country. This treaty put on a firm basis the long-standing amity between the sinking and the rising Sea-Power, and had an important influence on the course of history. It also had a curious effect on British social customs by substituting port for claret as the favourite foreign wine of the well-to-do classes.

307. Blenheim and Gibraltar, 1704.—Encouraged by two years' success, Louis XIV. resolved in 1704 to strike at



Army of the Allies, 52,000.
[Losses, 11,000.]

HORSE, ▱; FOOT, ▭.
A = **Marlborough.**
B = **Eugene.**
C = **Cutts.**

Franco-Bavarian Army, 60,000.
[Losses, 40,000, including 14,000 prisoners.]

FOOT, ▬; HORSE, ▰.
D = **Tallard.**
E = Marsin.
F = Elector of Bavaria.

NOTE.—*The distances marked are air-line distances from Blenheim.*

the heart of his rival, by sending a French army through the territories of his ally, the Elector of Bavaria, against the

Emperor's capital of Vienna. Marlborough resolved to prevent this scheme, and, despite Dutch opposition and the obstacles interposed by nature, he finally succeeded. Marching *via* Mainz and the Neckar Valley, he brought the Franco-Bavarian army under Marshal Tallard to bay at Blenheim on the Danube, and there, early in August, won an overwhelming victory (August). The battle of Blenheim not only defeated the French schemes and compelled Louis to withdraw his forces to his own side of the Rhine, but also proved that French armies were not, as people were beginning to fancy, almost invincible. Hardly less important, from a national point of view, though it attracted less attention at the time, was Rooke's capture of Gibraltar ten days before the battle of Blenheim. This acquisition—which has since been retained, despite Spanish attacks—was not the outcome of deliberate operations, but an incident in the course of a series of naval raids on the Spanish coasts.

308. Campaigns of 1705-1706.—In 1705 the principal theatre of war was Spain. Leake defeated French fleets in Mediterranean waters and took part in the capture of Barcelona by Charles Mordaunt, the brilliant but erratic Earl of Peterborough. The people of the district round Barcelona—Catalans and Aragonese—were likely to give active support to the claims of the Archduke Charles against the Bourbon occupant of the Spanish throne, favoured by the people of Castile. In the following year Peterborough marched inland from Barcelona and temporarily occupied Madrid, where he proclaimed "Charles III." King of Spain. About the same time, Marlborough, having defeated Villeroy in a pitched battle at Ramillies in Brabant, occupied Brussels and made a similar proclamation. In the same year two Spanish capitals in Italy, Naples and Milan, fell into the hands of the Hapsburg claimant. "Charles III.," thus placed actually in possession of the four Spanish capitals in Europe, seemed to have such rosy prospects of success that Louis XIV. opened

negotiations on the basis of recognising Charles as King over all the Spanish dominions except Naples and the Milanese. Owing mainly to the influence of the Emperor and of Marlborough, the Allies rejected these terms and prolonged the war—only with the result of gaining less in the end.

II. The Anglo-Scottish Union, 1707.

309. Causes of the Anglo-Scottish Union, 1699-1706.—The year 1706 was thus the year of Marlborough's greatest triumph: the following year witnessed the greatest achievement of his friend and fellow-worker, Godolphin. The latter event was almost as closely connected with the war as the former. The war was largely due to a desire felt by the merchants of England to develop trade with Spanish America: the union project came within the sphere of practical politics largely through the failure of similar designs on the part of Scottish merchants (§ 297). Irritation over the Darien fiasco made the Lowlanders, the only section of Scotsmen who were hearty supporters of the Protestant Succession, resolve to obtain either complete commercial equality with Englishmen or release from an unequal partnership. On the other hand, English merchants cherished their trade privileges, and English Tories looked askance on any further recognition of Scottish presbyterianism in church-government.

In 1702 William III. tried to arrange a compromise but without success, and in the following year the Scottish Estates enacted that Scotland was not to be involved without their consent in any war begun by England. In 1704 Anne was compelled to assent to an *Act of Security* which empowered the Scots Estates to appoint a successor to herself different from the person arranged for England and Ireland in the *Act of Settlement*, 1701 (§ 299). The English Parliament retorted with an *Alien Act* declaring Scotsmen to be aliens, prohibiting imports from Scotland, and providing for

the repair of the Border fortresses. The danger of war between two kingdoms whose common interests far outweighed points of difference made moderate men on both sides strenuous in pressing forward an accommodation. In 1706, under the guidance of Godolphin and Somers, a body of English and Scottish commissioners quickly arranged terms, which were accepted by both Parliaments.

310. Terms of the Anglo-Scottish Union, 1707.—The *Act of Union*, which came into force on May 1, 1707, merged the old kingdoms of England and Scotland into one new kingdom, while it preserved their identity in certain respects—notably in the spheres of Church, Law, and Education. For the "personal union" begun in 1603 was substituted a closer but still far from complete union. It was, for instance, less complete than the unions attempted by Edward I. and Oliver Cromwell; but it had the merit, which all previous attempts had lacked, of being made voluntarily and on equal terms on both sides, not under the compulsion of the southern kingdom. The following were the chief provisions of the *Act of Union*:—

(1) *Kingdoms:* the two kingdoms of Scotland and England are to be united into one kingdom, entitled "The United Kingdom of Great Britain."

(2) *Parliaments:* the two parliaments are to be amalgamated into a British Parliament in which England is to be represented as before, while Scotland is to be represented by forty-five members in the Commons and sixteen peers in the Lords, elected for each Parliament.

(3) *Churches:* each ex-kingdom is to retain its established church—episcopalian in England, presbyterian in Scotland.

(4) *Law:* each ex-kingdom retains its own system of law and law-courts—subject to modification by the United Parliament, and with appeal from the highest local courts to the British House of Lords.

(5) *Trade:* Englishmen and Scotsmen are placed on the same footing as regards trade with one another and with the outside world, as regulated in English *Navigation Acts*, etc.; and the weights, measures, and coinage of the two countries are assimilated to the English model.

(6) *Finance:* England pays off the Scottish National Debt and indemnifies the shareholders in the Darien Company; Scotland takes her share of the future financial burdens of the United Kingdom.

III. The Whigs and the War, 1707-1710.

311. Almanza, 1707.—During the year in which the Anglo-Scottish Union was successfully arranged, the main theatre of war was Eastern Spain. There the Allies speedily lost the ground which they had won in 1706 (§ 308). "Charles III.'s" troops were expelled from Madrid after less than a month's occupation (cp. § 316); and in April 1707 they were badly beaten at Almanza by James, Duke of Berwick, James II.'s illegitimate son (§ 293). The battle of Almanza was roughly balanced by a diplomatic success earned by Marlborough. He persuaded Charles XII., the adventurous king of Sweden, not to join in the War of the Spanish Succession—probably on the side of France, the old ally of Sweden—but to continue his struggles against Poland and his arch-enemy, Peter the Great. Charles's Russian enterprise ended in his defeat at Pultowa, 1709, which practically marked the end of Sweden as a Great Power.

312. Battle of Oudenarde, 1708.—In 1708 fortune swung round again to the side of the Allies both in Italy and in the regions which directly concerned Great Britain. Early in the year Byng drove back a French fleet which was escorting the Chevalier de St. George—"James III."—to Scotland in the hopes of rallying round the Stuarts all who were discontented with the Union. The Chevalier himself reached the Forth, but deemed it prudent not to land. In July Marlborough and his no less brilliant colleague, Prince Eugene of Savoy, won a great victory at Oudenarde, which resulted in the recovery of the Southern Netherlands (partly lost during the previous year) and enabled them in the autumn to take the offensive by the capture of the French fortress of Lille.

313. Capture of Minorca, 1708.—In the Mediterranean a joint British force under General Stanhope and Admiral Leake took possession of Sardinia and Minorca—the latter being then generally esteemed a more suitable place for a naval station than Gibraltar. These events led to a renewal of overtures for peace by Louis XIV. in the spring of 1709 and to their rejection by the Allies. The latter insisted that Louis should himself help in expelling his grandson from the throne of Spain. Louis refused, and appealed to his subjects for the help which he was wont to take as a matter of course. Appeal to national feeling now, as a hundred years later (§ 462), turned the scale in a great war.

314. Whig Administration, 1708-1710.—Despite Marlborough's victories his countrymen were beginning to lose their interest in the war and their belief in the necessity for its continuance: even the recognition of Philip V. as King in Spain would not make the united Bourbons as strong as Louis XIV. by himself had been before the war. The growth of the feeling that Marlborough's "family party"—including himself, Godolphin, and Sunderland—were prolonging a useless struggle simply for the sake of their own interests was clearly shown by the ministerial changes of 1708. The moderate Tories, Harley and St. John, resigned their posts, making way for Whigs such as Somers, Wharton, and Walpole. Godolphin made these changes reluctantly. Like William III., he preferred to follow the old plan of having the best men as ministers, disregarding differences in personal opinion. But party distinctions were now becoming so sharply defined in both home and foreign politics, that Whigs and Tories would not work smoothly together. Hence Godolphin was compelled for a brief period to have recourse to William III.'s expedient of an administration drawn entirely from the ranks of one party, and that the party which really believed not only in the expediency but also in the rightfulness of the Protestant Succession.

315. Malplaquet, 1709.—The great efforts made by Louis XIV. had immediate effects on the course of the war in 1709. In the Netherlands Marlborough and Eugene could do nothing except capture fortresses such as Tournay and Mons: in the pitched battle which they fought at Malplaquet in September they contrived to defeat Villars, the best of the French generals, but their losses were twice those of the enemy. The days of overwhelming victories for the Allies were over. Meanwhile, in Spain, the Marquess of Galway had been defeated in an attempt to invade Spain from the Portuguese base.

316. Gertruydenburg and Brihuega, 1710.—Nevertheless the Allies refused the favourable terms again offered by Louis XIV. in the Conference held at Gertruydenburg in the spring of 1710. He now expressed his willingness to subsidise the Allies while they were engaged in expelling Philip V. from Spain, but, as before, he refused to bear arms himself against his grandson. In the following year Marlborough took Douay, and "Charles III." forced his way into Madrid. On his way up his troops under Stanhope and Staremberg won joint victories at Almenara and Zaragoza: on their retreat—for Madrid has always been quite untenable by an enemy lacking the support of the population—they were severally defeated at Brihuega and Villa Viciosa in December 1710.

317. Queen Anne and the "High Church" Party.—The decisive event in the war, from a British point of view, took place in 1710: the corresponding event, from an international point of view, took place in the following year (§ 319). The British event was the overthrow of the Whigs by a group of Tories who had quite different views about the war from those of their opponents. Harley had contrived to place his relative Mrs. Masham near the Queen, and had thus gradually weaned Anne from the predominance of the Duchess of Marlborough. Harley's cue was to work on Queen Anne's religious sentiments and prejudices. She was an Anglican of

what was just beginning to be called the "High Church" school; and it was therefore not difficult to persuade her that the Whigs, being patrons of Dissenters, were enemies of true religion.

318. Sacheverell and the Whig Collapse, 1710.—Towards the end of 1709 Dr. Henry Sacheverell preached some official sermons inveighing against the Glorious Revolution and the Protestant Succession as sins against God and His Anointed. The Whigs thought him worthy of the distinction of impeachment (February-March, 1710). The Lords suspended him for three years: Anne compensated him by giving him preferment. Sacheverell became almost as much of a popular hero as the Seven Bishops of 1688; and in August 1710 Anne, taking courage from her popularity as an admirer of Dr. Sacheverell, dismissed the Whig ministers from her service. Harley (soon afterwards created Earl of Oxford) became Chancellor of the Exchequer and the principal member of a purely Tory Administration, which included St. John as Secretary of State, as well as Rochester and Ormonde.

IV. The Tories and the Peace, 1710-1714.

319. Charles VI. and the Balance of Power, 1711.—The Tories had their own reasons for wishing to bring the war to a close, and before they had been in office for a year an event occurred which completely changed the international situation. In April 1711 the Emperor Joseph II. died; and his successor, both in the family estates and in the elective dignity of Emperor, was his brother the Archduke Charles. It was obviously absurd that the Allies should continue a war nominally undertaken to preserve the Balance of Power simply in order to restore the double-monarchy of Charles V. Better to leave Spain with a Bourbon who was otherwise a nobody, and who by the recent birth of an heir

to his elder brother was removed a step farther from the French crown that he had formally renounced, than with a Hapsburg who held the throne of Caesar and the power of an Austrian archduke. The British Ministry thus had good reasons of State, as well as strong party reasons, for seeking to stop the war; and the publication of Swift's pamphlet, *The Conduct of the Allies*, six months after the death of the Emperor, greatly increased the popularity of a peace policy. They opened negotiations with France, and at the end of the year got rid of one of the chief obstacles in the way of peace by persuading the Queen to dismiss Marlborough from all his offices.

320. The Peace of Utrecht, 1713.—Marlborough's successor, the Tory Duke of Ormonde, was instructed to withdraw from active prosecution of the war in the Netherlands; and these instructions were given and obeyed in such a sense that Queen Anne's Government can hardly be exonerated from the charge of treachery towards its allies. In 1712 negotiations went on both secretly at Paris between the envoys of France and Great Britain, and openly at a general congress held at Utrecht in the United Netherlands. The result was the conclusion of a number of treaties, mostly arranged at Utrecht, among the different parties to the war except Philip V. and the Emperor; and in order to obtain the consent of Parliament to those treaties which concerned Great Britain, Queen Anne created twelve Tory peers to outvote the previous Whig majority in the House of Lords. The principal provisions of the British Utrecht treaties with France and Spain fall naturally under three main headings.

(i) *Dynastic.* Great Britain recognised Philip V. as King of Spain on condition that (*a*) the Bourbons recognised in turn the Protestant Succession in the United Kingdom, that (*b*) the French and the Spanish crowns were never to be united, and that (*c*) Louis XIV. assented to the transference of the outlying Spanish possessions in Europe to his rivals—the Netherlands,

Milan, Naples, and Sardinia to the Emperor Charles VI., and Sicily (afterwards exchanged for Sardinia) to the Duke of Savoy.

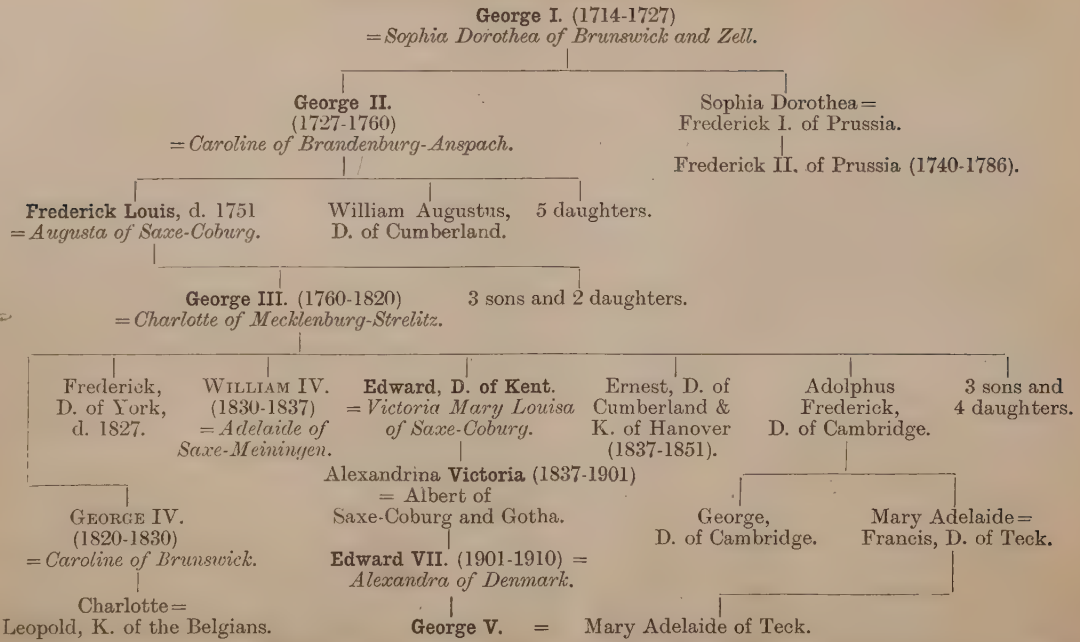
(ii) *Territorial.* France abandoned, in favour of Great Britain, her former claims to Acadie (Nova Scotia), Newfoundland, and Rupertsland (Hudson's Bay Territory); Spain formally ceded to Great Britain her conquests of Gibraltar and Minorca.

(iii) *Commercial.* Spain transferred to Great Britain certain trading privileges with Spanish America that she had formerly assigned to France: viz. (*a*) the *Asiento—i.e.* permission to import 4800 negroes into America during the following thirty years; (*b*) the right of sending one small ship annually to Porto-Bello, the chief Spanish emporium on the Isthmus of Panama (§ 332).

321. Church Questions, 1704-1714.—The British authors of the *Peace of Utrecht* were Tories who differed from their Whig opponents not only on the war but also on questions of the Church and of the Royal Succession. In 1704 the Queen had shown her disinterested affection for the Church of England by forming the first-fruits of ecclesiastical benefices into the nucleus of a fund for the augmentation of small livings—a fund ever since known as "Queen Anne's Bounty"; and the excitement over the trial of Dr. Sacheverell in 1710 had shown that the Anglican clergy were no less in favour with the English people. The Tories were acting in strict accordance with their principles in following this tendency in their legislative measures. The *Occasional Conformity Act*, 1711, and the *Schism Act*, 1714—both aimed at the Protestant Nonconformists, the chief supporters of the Whigs—respectively punished those who took the Sacrament according to Anglican rites simply in order to obtain municipal office and forbade any but Anglicans to keep school. These Acts remained in force for only a short time; but a *Scottish Patronage Act*—passed in 1712 to assimilate the method of appointing parish ministers in Scotland to that which prevailed in England—had lasting effects in increasing the divisions in the Scottish Church.

322. The Succession Question, 1710-1714.—Closely connected with this ecclesiastical legislation were certain secular measures designed to maintain the Tories in control of public affairs. The *Property Qualification Act*, 1711, was designed to secure the predominance of the landed interest in the House of Commons against the newer commercial interest, by disqualifying persons who did not possess a considerable amount of landed property from becoming members of Parliament; and the *Newspaper Stamp Act*, 1712, was framed to check the influence of outside criticism on Parliament and Government by imposing a stamp-duty on all periodical publications such as newspapers (cp. § 292). But it was useless for the Tories to obtain control over Parliament and the expression of public opinion, unless they could also control the Kingship: and the ill-health of the Queen made the Tories anxious as to their fate under her successor. Here they were divided between their Protestant and their Legitimist sympathies: Oxford was inclined to favour the Hanoverian Succession laid down by Act of Parliament in 1701 and 1707, while St. John (now Viscount Bolingbroke) seems to have been driven by necessity towards adopting the Jacobite cause. In July 1714 Bolingbroke ousted his rival from office because he had opposed the *Schism Act*; but before he could take any decisive measures to secure his own position the death of Queen Anne ruined his career, at least for a time (§ 341).

The House of Brunswick or Hanover.


George I. (1714-1727)
= Sophia Dorothea of Brunswick and Zell.
George II. (1727-1760)
= Caroline of Brandenburg-Anspach.
Sophia Dorothea = Frederick I. of Prussia.
Frederick II. of Prussia (1740-1786).
Frederick Louis, d. 1751
= Augusta of Saxe-Coburg.
William Augustus, D. of Cumberland.
5 daughters.
George III. (1760-1820)
= Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.
3 sons and 2 daughters.
Frederick, D. of York, d. 1827.
William IV. (1830-1837)
= Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen.
Edward, D. of Kent.
= Victoria Mary Louisa of Saxe-Coburg.
Ernest, D. of Cumberland & K. of Hanover (1837-1851).
Adolphus Frederick, D. of Cambridge.
3 sons and 4 daughters.
George IV. (1820-1830)
= Caroline of Brunswick.
Alexandrina Victoria (1837-1901)
= Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha.
George, D. of Cambridge.
Mary Adelaide = Francis, D. of Teck.
Charlotte = Leopold, K. of the Belgians.
Edward VII. (1901-1910) = Alexandra of Denmark.
George V. = Mary Adelaide of Teck.

NOTE.—The years within brackets give regnal years; important names in dark type; English Sovereigns, not in the direct line, in capitals.

CHAPTER IV.

GEORGE I., 1714-1727.

A. Personal History.—Eldest son of Ernest Augustus, Duke of Brunswick Lüneburg and first Elector of Hanover, by his wife Sophia, granddaughter of James I. of England; born at Hanover, May 28, 1660; in 1682 married his cousin Sophia Dorothea of Zell (whom in 1694 he imprisoned at Ahlden till her death, November 13, 1726); succeeded his father as Elector of Hanover, 1698; in accordance with the *Act of Settlement*, 1701, and the *Act of Union*, 1707, became King of Great Britain, etc., on the death of Queen Anne, August 1, 1714 (his mother Sophia having died, May 28, 1714); died at Osnabrück, June 11, 1727; buried at Hanover. For descent from James I. see Table, p. xvi; for descendants see Table, p. 58.

B. Contemporary Rulers.

Papacy.	Empire.	Prussia.	France.	Spain.	Sweden.	Russia.
Clement XI. (1700)	CharlesVI. (1711)	Frederick I. (1701)	Louis XIV. (1643)	Philip V. (1700-1746)	Charles XII. (1697)	Peter the Gt. (1689)
Innocent XIII. (1721)		Frederick William I. (1713-1740)	Louis XV. (1715-1774)	Louis I. (1724-5)	Frederick I. (1718-1751)	Katharine I. (1725-1727)
Benedict XIII. (1724-1730)						

C. Topics of the Reign.

(i) **International**: *relations with*—
- (1) France: §§ 325, 328, 336.
- (2) Spain: §§ 328, 330, 332, 336.
- (3) Austria: §§ 330, 336.
- (4) Prussia: § 336.
- (5) Sweden: §§ 327, 328, 330.

(ii) **Constitutional.**
- (1) Ministers: §§ 323, 324, 329, 333.
- (2) Parliament: §§ 324, 326, 331, 332, 334, 335.
- (3) Church: §§ 331, 335.
- (4) Scotland: §§ 325, 330.
- (5) Ireland: § 335.

I. The Stuart and the Guelf, 1714-1716.

323. Accession of George I., 1714.—Despite the deep divisions in public opinion regarding the Succession, there

was no difficulty in placing, and little difficulty in keeping, George Augustus on the thrones vacated by Queen Anne. At the crisis of the quarrel between Oxford and Bolingbroke, the two Tory leaders, a group of Whig peers, headed by Argyll and Shrewsbury, contrived to seize the reins of power, on which their party, despite their quarrels, did not relax their hold for nearly half a century. Until the arrival of the new King affairs were administered by twenty-one Lords Justices, nominated beforehand by the Elector under powers conferred in a *Regency Act* of 1705. When George arrived he rewarded the Whigs for their support by choosing his Ministers entirely from their ranks. Montague, Earl of Halifax, was for a few months First Lord of the Treasury; but the Secretaries of State, Charles, Viscount Townshend, and James Stanhope, the conqueror of Minorca, were the most important members. Room was also found in the Ministry for Sunderland and Walpole; Marlborough became Captain-General; Somers was too old again to hold office long.

324. The Riot Act, April 1715.—George I.'s first British Parliament met early in 1715 and showed itself strongly Whig. The Ministers naturally followed their Tory predecessors in turning their parliamentary majority to their own advantage. They impeached the chief among the late Ministers for various crimes and misdemeanours—especially in connection with their peace negotiations and with their alleged attempt "to bring in the Pretender." This was the last occasion on which the method of impeachment was adopted by a party in power as a means of taking vengeance on political adversaries. Bolingbroke and Ormonde deemed it prudent to leave the country and were attainted in their absence. Oxford remained to face impeachment and after long proceedings was ultimately acquitted. Thus abandoned by their leaders, the disappointed Jacobites were unable to organise a great rising and broke out into the petty local

movements which occasioned the *Riot Act*. By this Act it was made felony for the members of a crowd to disobey for more than one hour the orders of a magistrate to disperse.

325. The Fifteen, September-November, 1715.—A well-organised Jacobite rising immediately after the death of Queen Anne, and while there was a fair prospect of help from France, would have had considerable chance of success. But the rising did not begin until George had been nearly a year in England and until its most promising patron, Louis XIV., was dead; it was therefore ill-timed, and besides was badly bungled. Ormonde landed in Devonshire, but at once gave up the enterprise; and the only serious movements took place in the North. Early in September the Earl of Mar—known from his many political changes as "Bobbing John"—set up the Stuart standard at Braemar. Most of the Scottish peers were prepared to support him if he showed promise of success; and nearly all the Highland clans actually did rally round him. He did nothing with the force at his disposal; but he sent a detachment to help the movements which had broken out further south, headed by Lords Nithsdale and Kenmuir in the Lowlands and by Forster and Lord Derwentwater in Northumberland. This united army marched southwards, and in November surrendered at Preston. On the same day Mar fought an indecisive battle with Argyll at Sheriffmuir near Perth. In the following month "James III." himself arrived at Peterhead; but his presence was embarrassing rather than inspiriting, and he soon returned to France. The whole affair was such a miserable failure that the Whigs could afford to treat it with contempt. They executed about a score of the prisoners, and took precautions against future attempts by partially disarming the Highlanders, and by building a few military forts and making roads in the Highlands (§§ 352-354).

326. The Septennial Act, May 1716.—The chief result of

'the Fifteen' was the passing of the *Septennial Act*. The elections for the new Parliament should, according to the *Triennial Act* (§ 289), have fallen in the spring of 1718. The Government were of opinion that the nation was too excited, and that Jacobite hopes were still too strong, to make it safe for the Hanoverian succession that the election should take place so early. They therefore passed a bill prolonging the possible legal existence of the present and all future Parliaments from a period of three years to one of seven.

Parliament thus set at nought the conditions under which it had been brought together; but this was done in a perfectly legal way to meet exceptional dangers and has not been regarded as a precedent. The chief importance of the Act was not its unusual character but its permanent effect in securing the stability of parliamentary institutions. At a time when Parliament was becoming less and less representative of the nation, when elections were conducted by open voting, not by ballot, and were spread over a long period, it was a distinct gain for the country to be spared the horrors of frequent General Elections. Parliament was henceforth legally entitled to a duration of seven years, and as a matter of fact few parliaments in the eighteenth century lasted less than six years. This increased longevity of Parliament made it easier for the great landowners to control the House of Commons.

327. International Results of the Hanoverian Succession. —The accession to the British thrones of the Elector of Hanover had important effects on British international policy. The new King was a German who knew no English, and who naturally took much more interest in the affairs of his native country than in those of his insular kingdoms. The framers of the *Act of Settlement* had tried in vain to prevent any evil consequences flowing from this preoccupation; and during the reigns of the first two Hanoverian Kings British politicians were continually jealous lest the

island kingdoms should be sacrificed to the continental electorate. An illustration of this occurred at the very outset of the Personal Union. The King of Denmark sold the territories (not the cities) of Bremen and Verden, which he had conquered from Sweden, to the Elector of Hanover; Charles XII. of Sweden was naturally angry with the Elector, and attempted to strike at him not only in his electoral but also in his royal capacity. On the other hand, George I. sent a British fleet into the Baltic in order to help the Grand Alliance against Charles XII.; and this led to loud outcries in England that the country was being embroiled in a Northern War which did not concern Great Britain, "all on account of Hanover." George I.'s lavish gifts to his German favourites gave colour to this complaint; but in point of fact Great Britain had large commercial interests in the Baltic which justified her intervention, quite apart from her dynastic connection with Hanover.

328. The Triple Alliance, 1717.—The Swedish imbroglio was only part of a diplomatic tangle which cannot be fully understood without a considerable knowledge of European History. So far as Great Britain was concerned, the main facts were these: she was interested in maintaining the *Peace of Utrecht*, especially the recognition of the Protestant Succession; her ally, the United Provinces, was similarly interested; and so too—for family reasons which held good only because Louis XV. was still a minor without issue (§ 338)—was the Regent Orleans in France. On the other hand, Charles VI. and Philip V. were dissatisfied with the partition of the Spanish dominions; and the latter, under the influence of his Italian wife, Elizabeth Farnese, was determined to recover the Spanish possessions in Italy from the intrusive Hapsburg. Hence the Powers dissatisfied with Great Britain—Spain, under the minister Alberoni, and Sweden, under Charles XII. and his minister Görtz—began to combine in favour of a Jacobite restoration; and, on the

other hand, the Powers interested in maintaining the *status quo* began to draw together in defence of the Utrecht settlement. The result was that, early in 1717, France, Great Britain, and the United Provinces—so lately at bitter enmity, open or concealed, with one another—entered into a *Triple Alliance.*

II. The First Whig Schism, 1717-1720.

329. The Whig Split on Foreign Policy.—The *Triple Alliance* revealed the dormant divisions in the dominant Whig party. One section believed that a spirited foreign policy on the lines laid down during the last two reigns was the best guarantee of the Protestant Succession: not unnaturally, Stanhope, the victorious general, and Sunderland, the son-in-law of Marlborough, were the leaders in this group. The other section, headed by Townshend and his brother-in-law, Walpole, thought that the maintenance of peace and the development of commerce would do more than anything else to eradicate Jacobitism. Accordingly we find that towards the end of 1716 Stanhope had taken Townshend's place as Secretary of State for the Northern Department—*i.e.* the minister in charge of British relations with Northern Europe; and early in 1717 Townshend, Walpole, and Pulteney were forced from office altogether because they would not support Stanhope's foreign policy. There was much shuffling of offices during the next three years, but on the whole the Stanhope-Sunderland group were "in" and the Townshend-Walpole group were "out." All this marked a step in the development of party-government. It was not enough that the ministers should belong to one party: they must also act harmoniously together, if their joint action was to be effective.

330. Stanhope's Foreign Policy, 1717-1720.—The schemes which the *Triple Alliance* was meant to checkmate were mostly concerned with Northern and Central Europe;

but the Italian ambitions of Elizabeth Farnese directed attention to the South. In 1717 Spanish forces occupied Sardinia and began to attack Sicily; but the possibility of further success here was ended by the destruction of the Spanish fleet by the English off Cape Passaro in August 1718. A few months later Spain lost her only ally by the death of Charles XII. of Sweden; and in 1719 a Spanish attempt to arouse a new Jacobite insurrection was defeated at Glenshiel, on the west coast of Scotland.

Meanwhile the Emperor had joined the anti-Spanish coalition, which thus became a *Quadruple Alliance*. Spain, having failed all round in consequence of starting operations before she was ready and of the untiring diplomacy of Great Britain, came to terms. In 1719 Alberoni was dismissed; and in the following year Philip V. acknowledged the Protestant Succession and the Utrecht partition of the Spanish dominions. The Duke of Savoy accepted the island of Sardinia, with the title of King, instead of the more distant island of Sicily, which had been assigned to him by the *Peace of Utrecht*, but which was now transferred to Austria (§§ 320, 340). About the same time British mediation effected a settlement among the Baltic Powers on favourable terms for Sweden; and thus for a moment Europe was at peace.

331. Stanhope's Home Policy, 1717-1720.—Stanhope's foreign policy, on the whole, had been creditable and successful: the home policy of his Administration was less successful, partly through the opposition of the ejected Whigs. In ecclesiastical affairs the government tried to stop the violent controversies, largely anti-Hanoverian, of the Anglican clergy by discontinuing the assembly of Convocation, which did not again meet for business till 1858; while their *Protestant Interests Act* of 1719 gratified their supporters among the Protestant Nonconformists by repealing the *Occasional Conformity Act* and the *Schism Act* of Anne's closing years. In purely civil affairs their experiments in politics and finance

proved abortive. In 1719 Sunderland introduced a *Peerage Bill* designed to prevent the expansion of the English and British peerages beyond their existing number (178) and to substitute for the sixteen elective Scots peers in the House of Lords twenty-five hereditary ones. The Bill was intended to make impossible a repetition of the tactics whereby Queen Anne had secured a majority in the House of Lords for the *Peace of Utrecht*; but it was also meant to supplement the *Septennial Act* by making the Upper House a close and compact body exposed as little as possible to outside influences. The Bill, had it become law, might have effected permanent changes in the balance of the Constitution; but it was rejected by the House of Commons. Here, as in the failure of the contemporary proposals to modify the *Test Act* of 1673 in favour of the Dissenters, the effective leader of the triumphant majority was Robert Walpole, whom the Ministry therefore deemed it prudent to conciliate by readmitting him to their ranks in 1720.

332. The South Sea Bubble, 1720.—In 1719 the Stanhope-Sunderland Administration made a financial experiment which proved disastrous to itself, both individually and collectively, and which occasioned widespread distress. They sold the National Debt, now standing at some £35,000,000, to the South Sea Company—which had been founded by Harley in 1711 and later endowed with the trading facilities wrested from Spain at Utrecht—and granted the Company increased commercial privileges. The Government was to obtain a large premium and to effect a great saving in annual interest; the Company was to increase its capital and business; and its fortunate shareholders were to become rich beyond the dreams of avarice. This huge speculation led to many others; and the result was a financial crisis which Walpole was called upon to bring to an end. Practically his settlement amounted to this: those who had been reduced to penury through their trust in the South Sea

Company, as supported by Government, were compensated at the expense of the Directors; the Government sacrificed most of its financial gains; and the Company was restricted to its proper work as a trading concern—in the course of which it was destined to involve the country in further trouble (§ 344).

III. Beginning of Walpole's Administration, 1721-1727.

333. Walpole's Ministerial Policy—The First Whig Schism ended with the death or disgrace of the Stanhope-Sunderland group, in consequence of their connection with the South Sea Bubble, and with the restoration to power of the peace section of the Whigs. Walpole, being a financier, was made First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lords Townshend and Carteret were Secretaries of State; and it gradually became clear that Walpole was going to retain the pre-eminence which his financial work in 1720 had given him. George I., who was a good man of business, and a keen judge of character, had been loth to lose him in 1717, and now welcomed him back to office, giving him an increasing measure of well-deserved confidence. Yet Walpole did not throw himself heartily, as Stanhope had done, into George's continental schemes, but rather devoted himself to the peaceful development of Great Britain.

334. Atterbury's Jacobite Plot, 1722.—The Jacobites had been encouraged by the South Sea Crisis, and by the birth of a son to "James III." in 1720, to form a plot on an extensive scale; but the only result was that the most capable of their leaders in England, Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, was deprived of his see and banished by special Act of Parliament (1722). Bolingbroke, on the other hand—who had not remained long in the service of the exiled Stuart—was allowed to return to England, and took an active

part in opposing the Ministry. About the same time, another disappointed politician, Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, made such an outcry against one of the lesser grievances under which Ireland was suffering that it was redressed by the Government.

335. Wood's Half-Pence and Ireland, 1719-1727.—A patent was granted in 1722 to William Wood of Wolverhampton to issue a copper coinage for Ireland; and as he had had to pay to a Court favourite a heavy bribe in order to secure the monopoly, he recouped himself by supplying a coinage in excessive quantity. Swift, under the guise of a Dublin clothier, wrote a series of *Drapier's Letters* in which he denounced the existing misgovernment of Ireland. Carteret was relieved of his Secretaryship, and sent over to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant to restore quiet; but no redress was given except in the withdrawal of "Wood's Half-pence." In other respects the condition of Ireland was made worse about this time. In 1719 the British Parliament passed a *Declaratory Act* formally asserting its right to make laws for that kingdom over the head of the Irish Parliament; and eight years later the Penal Code was completed by an Act of the Irish Parliament excluding Roman Catholics from the parliamentary franchise in Ireland.

336. The Rival Alliances of Vienna and Hanover, 1724-1727.—In 1722 Charles VI. granted a Charter to an Ostend East India Company to compete with the British, Dutch, and French companies in the Oriental trade; and in 1725 he entered into an alliance with Spain whereby the Emperor promised help in recovering Gibraltar in return for trade concessions and for Spanish recognition of his *Pragmatic Sanction* (§ 338). This arrangement, negotiated by Elizabeth's new minister, Ripperda, and known as the *First Treaty of Vienna*, was met by a *Treaty of Hanover*, whereby Great Britain, France, and Prussia made a counter coalition in defence of the Utrecht settlement. In 1727 Spain laid vain

siege to Gibraltar and an equally futile English expedition was sent against Porto-Bello, the chief Spanish town on the isthmus of Panama. Meanwhile Walpole and Fleury, the new French minister, were doing their utmost to prevent this diplomatic war from leading to open hostilities on a large scale, so that before the sudden death of George I. in June 1727 the Vienna Alliance had broken up and its original members had agreed to accept the terms of the *Treaty of Hanover*.

CHAPTER V.

GEORGE II. AND WALPOLE, 1727-1742.

A. Personal History.—Son of George Lewis, Elector of Hanover (George I. of Great Britain); born at Hanover, October 30, 1683; married Caroline Wilhelmina of Anspach (*d.* November, 1737), 1705; created Duke of Cambridge, 1706; created Prince of Wales, 1714; succeeded his father as Elector-King, June 11, 1727; died at Kensington Palace, October 25, 1760; buried at Westminster Abbey. For family connections see Table, p. 58.

B. Contemporary Rulers.

Papacy.	Empire.	Prussia.	France.	Spain.	Poland.	Russia.
Benedict XIII. (1724)	Charles VI. (1711-1740)	Frederick William I. (1713)	Louis XV. 1715-1774)	Philip V. (1700)	August II. (1697-1704, 1709-1733)	Peter II. (1727)
Clement XII. (1730)	Maria Theresa, Qu. Hung. & Bohemia (1740-1780)	Frederick II. *the Great* 1740-1786)			August III. (1733-1763)	Anna (1730)
Benedict XIV. (1740)	Charles VII. *Wittelsbach* (1742-5)			Ferdinand VI. (1746)		Ivan VI. (1740) Elizabeth (1741-1762)
Clement XIII. (1758-1769)	Francis I. (1745-1765)			Charles III. (1759-1788)		

C. Topics of the Period.

(i) **International**: *relations with*—
- (1) France: §§ 338, 340, 345, 346.
- (2) Spain: §§ 338, 340, 344, 345, 347.
- (3) Austria: §§ 340, 345, 346, 347.
- (4) Prussia: § 346.

(ii) **Constitutional.**
- (1) Parliament: §§ 337, 341, 342, 344, 347.
- (2) Trade and Finance: §§ 337, 338, 339, 340, 344.
- (3) Colonies: §§ 340, 344.
- (4) Church: §§ 337, 343.

I. Walpole and Queen Caroline, 1727-1737.

337. Walpole and Sir Spencer Compton, 1727.—The accession of George II. filled the growing number of Walpole's

enemies with hopes of ministerial changes, but they were speedily disappointed. These hopes were based on the habit which the heirs of the House of Guelf had contracted of quarrelling with their parents. George II., as Prince of Wales, had been barely on speaking terms with his father, and was therefore naturally ill-disposed toward his father's minister. But Sir Spencer Compton, the man whom George II. proposed to put in Walpole's position, had neither the personal capacity nor the parliamentary influence of Sir Robert; and George II., being well acquainted with the peculiarities of the British Constitution and being also influenced by his clever wife, Caroline of Anspach, speedily resolved to give his confidence to his father's friend. This confidence Walpole retained not only till his fall from office in 1742, but also till his death three years later.

His first service to the King was to persuade Parliament to augment the Civil List; and at the same time he increased his popularity with the Dissenters by beginning the practice of passing an *Indemnity Act*, whereby Dissenters were annually relieved from any penalties they might have incurred through holding municipal offices contrary to the terms of the *Test Act* and the *Corporation Act*. Such a method of gratifying friends without stirring the activity of enemies was characteristic of Walpole's policy throughout: his favourite motto was, "Let sleeping dogs lie."

338. Second Treaty of Vienna, 1731.—The death of George I. and other events about the same time caused hitches in the negotiations between the rival alliances of Vienna and Hanover; but in the long run the steady pressure on the side of peace exerted both by Walpole in Great Britain and by Cardinal Fleury in France brought about a settlement of existing quarrels by the *Treaty of Seville*, 1729, and the *Second Treaty of Vienna*, 1731. The main factor in these complicated diplomatic arrangements was the desire of the Emperor Charles VI. to secure the succession in his

hereditary dominions to his elder daughter, Maria Theresa, as provided in a document known as the *Pragmatic Sanction.* He purchased the guarantee of Great Britain to this document by suppressing his Ostend Company, and that of Spain by ceding the Italian duchies of Parma and Piacenza to Don Carlos, eldest son of Elizabeth Farnese. Meanwhile there had occurred an event which had a more enduring importance in international politics than these territorial arrangements: the birth of a son to Louis XV. of France in 1729 had removed the cause of various family jealousies between the two branches of the House of Bourbon, and had prepared the way for the renewal of the natural family alliance which had been in abeyance since the death of Louis XIV. The gradual *rapprochement* of France and Spain ultimately proved fatal to the Anglo-French understanding, and to the peace policy which Walpole and Fleury based on that understanding.

339. The Excise Bill, 1733.—Walpole's "passion for peace" was due to his desire to give the nation a chance to accumulate wealth by trade and become reconciled to the Protestant Succession. He rearranged the customs duties so as to encourage both the import of raw materials and the export of manufactured products; and his biographer, Archdeacon Coxe, has declared that "he found our tariff the worst in the world and he left it the best." But his greatest effort in this direction proved to be premature. His *Excise Bill,* 1733, was intended to levy taxes on wine and tobacco by way of *excise,* collected shortly before the articles were distributed to consumers, rather than by way of *customs,* collected when the goods were imported. This change would have checked smuggling by making it less profitable, enriched the Exchequer, and cheapened the goods for the consumer; and Walpole also hoped that it might have helped "to make London a free port and the market of the world." Loud outcries against what was represented as an inquisitorial

measure and an electioneering dodge compelled Walpole to abandon a scheme which has since been generally recognised to be based on sound principles of finance. He "declined," to use his own words, "to raise taxes at the price of blood."

340. Georgia and the Polish Election, 1733.—The year of the Excise Scheme was marked also by the foundation of the colony of Georgia in America and the outbreak of the War of the Polish Election. Georgia, established as a refuge for debtors and religious exiles, was, in its early years, the scene both of the labours of the Wesleys and of frontier disputes with Spanish Florida. The War of the Polish Election, which broke out in the same year, was a conflict between the Bourbons and the Hapsburgs, in which Great Britain took part only as a mediator. In the end Austria placed her candidate, Augustus of Saxony, on the throne of Poland. The French candidate, Stanislaus Leczinski, Louis XV.'s father-in-law, was consoled with the duchies of Lorraine and Bar (to fall to France on his death); Francis, Duke of Lorraine (betrothed to Maria Theresa, and afterwards Emperor), was compensated with the duchy of Tuscany, where the Medici were dying out; and Don Carlos gained the kingdom of the Sicilies in exchange for the duchies of Parma and Piacenza.

Walpole won the ill-will of Austria for not helping her, but consoled himself with the fact that no Englishman had fallen among the 50,000 killed in Europe. France and Spain, fearing British intervention, had made the *First Bourbon Family Compact* (1733). The results of the war were embodied in a *Third Treaty of Vienna*, which was slowly put together and accepted during the years 1735-1738.

II. The Second Whig Schism, 1737-1742.

341. Death of Queen Caroline, 1737.—Before the various disputes connected with the War of the Polish Election had been finally adjusted, Walpole had lost his firmest friend, Queen Caroline "the Illustrious," who died towards the end of 1737. About the same time, her eldest son, Frederick Prince of Wales—who inherited the faults but not the capacity of his parents—definitely quarrelled with his father, and became the centre of the political opposition to Walpole. This opposition was growing in variety, in numbers, and in strength; but when the time of its triumph came it was found to lack coherence and to have no leaders capable of taking Walpole's place.

The opposition contained four principal groups. The first section consisted of the Jacobites, headed by "honest" Shippen—who had a strong personal regard for Walpole's probity and capacity, but could not endure his principles. Next to these, and hardly distinguishable from them, were the Hanoverian Tories led by Sir William Wyndham in Parliament and by Bolingbroke outside. The latter had been allowed to return from exile in 1723, but had not been permitted to take his seat in the House of Lords: his opposition, therefore, made itself felt through pamphlets such as his *Idea of a Patriot King* and the political periodical called *The Craftsman*, which existed from 1727 to 1735, when Bolingbroke abandoned the struggle and returned to France.

But the two sections of the Tories, however brilliant in leadership, were less practically dangerous to Walpole than the malcontent Whigs. Some of these, *e.g.* Carteret, Pulteney, and Chesterfield, were former members of the administration, who had lost their offices because they would not work in harmony with Walpole: others, like John Stuart, Earl of Bute, and William Pitt, were younger men who were angry with Walpole for not taking them at their own

valuation as desirable colleagues. The latter Walpole good-humouredly called "The Boys"; and all of them, denouncing Walpole as a man who sacrificed the nation to party interests, called themselves "Patriots," a high-sounding name which Bolingbroke had made fashionable.

342. Walpole's Position as Prime Minister.—The principal accusations hurled against Walpole were that his methods were corrupt, that his political aims were altogether wrong, and that he was absolutely dominated by self-interest. To which charges the proper reply seems to be that his methods were not more corrupt that those of his predecessors and rivals, and that his policy was much more successful than that of his accusers and supplanters. The King's government could not be carried on unless the Ministers had the confidence not only of the King, but also of the House of Commons; and as that body was then constituted, the only effective way of securing its continuous support was to give its members pensions or places. As Walpole truly enough said, they required to be paid, "not for voting *against*, but for voting *with*, their consciences." Walpole's alleged "jealousy of rivals" sprang out of his perception that the members of an administration must not only be drawn from one party, but must also work together. They must all have the same "opinion" as expressed in action; and that opinion must, he considered, be *his* opinion. That is why he has been generally recognised as the first British "Prime Minister" in anything like the modern sense of that term.

343. Rise of Methodism, 1729-1739.—Walpole was in fact a somewhat good specimen of an Englishman in an age of coarse and material "rationalism." Nevertheless, this Walpolean age of common-sense witnessed the rise of an "enthusiastic" movement in religion which has since continued to spread among English-speaking peoples. The originators of this movement were a group of Oxford men

who about 1729 formed a small society whose members were bent on leading earnest and regular lives in the service of others: their regularity, or methodical habits, in religion won them the academical nickname of "Methodists." Of this society the chief were the brothers Wesley, John and Charles, and George Whitefield, who all began to work on a large scale in 1739, shortly after John Wesley's return from Georgia. They took orders in the Church of England and wished merely to supplement its work by preaching the Gospel to those who did not come under the influence of the parochial system. In the long run, however, they were driven, by the hostility of the beneficed clergy, and by the peculiarities of the law with regard to meeting-houses, to establish organisations apart from the established churches in the British Isles, while differences among themselves on theological points caused them to form various distinct "connexions" which developed into separate churches. These fall into two main groups—"Wesleyan" and "Calvinistic" Methodists, of which the latter became strongest in Wales.

344. Trade Quarrels with Spain.—Heartily supported by the King, and commanding a steady majority in the House of Commons, Walpole had no difficulty in keeping his place so long as none but professional politicians were ranged against him. Early in 1739, indeed, the Opposition formally seceded from the House, explaining that so long as "the arguments were all on one side and the votes on the other" their presence there was of no use. But before the year was out they returned to their places because they found that the Minister was becoming unpopular with the nation at large. He was not taking so decided a stand against what was called Spanish aggression as amateur politicians thought he ought to take.

The trouble rose out of the commercial clauses of the *Treaty of Utrecht*. The British merchants tried to evade the severe restrictions imposed by that treaty on commercial

dealings with Spanish America; not unnaturally the Spanish Government insisted that its Customs officers or *guarda costas* should see that the treaty was duly observed; and though the palmy days of the West Indian buccaneers had ended with Morgan's capture of Panama in 1671, there was doubtless much lawless trading on the one side that was barely distinguishable from piracy, and on the other much cruelty in the enforcement of the law. One story made a great impression on the public. A trader, named Jenkins, went about showing an ear which, he said, had been brutally torn off by a Spanish official. When asked what he had done on this occasion, Jenkins said, "I commended my soul to my God, and my cause to my country." Walpole thought that Captain Jenkins' country could best deal with the cause of Jenkins and his fellow-traders by negotiating with Spain; the merchants and the parliamentary Opposition clamoured for war; Walpole, after his fashion, yielded to the general will; and towards the end of 1739 war was declared on both sides.

345. The War of Jenkins' Ear, 1739-1748.—The war thus begun lasted for nearly nine years and was almost wholly uneventful. For this there were two reasons. Firstly the "colony" war became swamped by a number of European wars which arose out of the death of the Emperor Charles VI. in 1740, and which are generally called "The War of the Austrian Succession." Secondly, neither Spain nor Great Britain had paid much attention to the fighting services, especially on the naval side, during the generation which followed the *Peace of Utrecht*: they were consequently unable to prosecute the war with much vigour. So far as Great Britain is concerned, experts in naval history divide the blame for the unpreparedness pretty evenly between Walpole's ignorance of war and the growth of various traditions in the British Navy which hampered efficiency. In December 1739 Admiral Vernon took Porto-Bello, on

the Isthmus of Panama, but two years later he failed to capture the neighbouring town of Carthagena. Meanwhile Commodore Anson had started on a four years' voyage round the world (1740-1744), in the course of which he plundered various Spanish vessels and towns in South America.

346. The War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-1743.—The "War of the Austrian Succession" was a renewal of the old conflict between Bourbon and Hapsburg. Spain attacked Austria directly in Italy, France attacked her indirectly in Germany, under the guise of a subsidised ally to Charles Albert, the Elector of Bavaria, who was the principal claimant against Maria Theresa for the Hapsburg estates. Frederick II., who had just succeeded to the throne of Prussia, seized Silesia. Great Britain under Walpole's rule confined herself to supplying Maria Theresa with subsidies according to treaty, and with mediating between her and her Prussian enemy, a mediation which ended successfully for a time with the *Treaty of Breslau-Berlin* (1742). But the confusion in Europe was great. Saxony, Sardinia, Russia, and Sweden, all had a share in the diplomacy and fighting. Walpole in Great Britain and Fleury in France were both opposed by vigorous war-parties who objected to the half-hearted policy of their ministers. Fleury remained in office till his death in 1743. Walpole was driven from office in the previous year.

347. Fall of Walpole, February 1742.—Walpole was loudly blamed, both for mismanagement of the maritime war against Spain and for not giving adequate assistance to Maria Theresa, daughter of Charles VI., against her many enemies. As in 1733, Walpole wanted to stop the war in order to lessen the chances of a Jacobite rising; but this time the task of peacemaker proved beyond his powers. The Opposition closed up their ranks and ceaselessly attacked him; and the new Parliament, which was elected

in 1741, when the war-fever was at its height, was far less favourable to him than its predecessor. The change was partly due to the fact that Walpole had offended Scottish national sentiment by inflicting a fine on the City of Edinburgh on account of the Porteous Riots of 1736. A number of close divisions before and after Christmas 1741 were followed by a Government defeat on a disputed election for Chippenham; and Walpole, realising that it was useless to remain in office without parliamentary support, at length persuaded the King to permit him to resign. There were wild hopes that he would share the fate which had befallen another "tyrant minister," Strafford, exactly one hundred years before; but the attempt to find evidence of criminal action on his part proved abortive, and he retired to the House of Lords with the title of Earl of Orford. That was for him not only a reward, but also a kind of banishment. When he there met his old rival, Pulteney, who had been created Earl of Bath, he greeted him with these words: "Here we are, my lord, the two most insignificant fellows in England."

CHAPTER VI.

GEORGE II. AND THE PELHAMS, 1742-1754.

A. Personal History.
B. Contemporary Rulers. } See previous chapter.

C. Topics of the Period.

(i) **International**: *relations with*—
(1) France: §§ 349-352, 356-358.
(2) Spain: §§ 350, 356, 358.
(3) Austria: §§ 349-352, 356.
(4) Prussia: §§ 349, 355, 356.
(5) Russia: § 357.
(6) United Netherlands: §§ 351, 356.

(ii) **Constitutional.**
(1) King v. Ministers: §§ 348, 351, 355, 359.
(2) Ministers and Parliament: §§ 348, 351, 352, 355, 359.
(3) Jacobitism: §§ 350, 353, 354.
(4) Finance: § 359.
(5) Colonies: §§ 349, 350, 356, 357.

I. Carteret's "Drunken Administration," 1742-1744.

348. Walpole's Successors in Office, 1742.—The circumstances of Walpole's fall illustrate several important differences between the constitutional practices of his day and of our own. His resignation had been only incidentally connected with the General Election of 1741, and it had not greatly affected the position of his colleagues. Nowadays, the constitutional custom or convention is that a Ministry defeated in the House of Commons should either "dissolve Parliament" and "appeal to the country," or else resign *en masse*. Walpole, on the contrary, had resigned after his parliamentary defeat, not as a matter of course, but because he chose to do so; and his resignation did not involve the resignation of the entire Ministry. Most of his colleagues remained in office, except Harrington, who was succeeded as Secretary of State by John, Lord Carteret. Walpole was succeeded as Chancellor of the Exchequer by Sandys, and as

First Lord of the Treasury by Lord Wilmington—the Sir Spencer Compton of 1727 (§ 337). Pulteney, whom Walpole had recommended to the King as his chief adviser, declined to take any definite office, but accepted a peerage and a seat in the Cabinet. Bolingbroke returned from France only to find that the men who had been glad to make use of his services in opposing Walpole would have nothing to do with him as a candidate for office in the "Patriot" Ministry. In the absence of Pulteney and Bolingbroke, the chief place in the new Cabinet was left to Carteret, an erudite scholar and brilliant politician whose ideas were much more intelligible and acceptable to the King than to his colleagues. His erratic conduct—attributed by contemporary scandal to his convivial habits—won for his term of office the name of the "Drunken Administration."

349. Carteret's Foreign Policy.—Carteret knew little and cared less for home or colonial affairs: the matter in which he was interested, and of which he had a unique knowledge, was European international relations. Here he pursued a "Hanoverian" policy, and was eager to do all he could to help the Queen of Hungary against her enemies. In 1742 a British fleet bombarded Naples and compelled King Charles (§§ 338, 340) to remain neutral; and British subsidies enabled the Queen to carry on war successfully against the Wittelsbach rival, who had been elected Emperor (Charles VII.) in January 1742, but whose position was aptly described as "*Et Caesar et nihil.*" In 1743 Great Britain and Hanover intervened still more actively in German affairs; and Carteret was accused, especially by William Pitt, of having swallowed some potent drug which made him forget his own country and think of nothing but a "despicable German Electorate." George II. in person led southwards a "Pragmatic Army" of British and Hanoverian troops, and gained a victory over the French allies of Bavaria at Dettingen-on-Main (June 27).

350. The Second Family Compact, 1743.—In the following September Carteret negotiated the *Treaty of Worms*, whereby Sardinia agreed to help Maria Theresa against the Bourbons in return for a portion of the Milanese. In reply to this treaty, France and Spain entered into a *Second Family Compact*, October 1743, whereby they pledged themselves to deprive Austria of her remaining Italian possessions, and to wrest Gibraltar, Minorca, Georgia, and the Asiento from Great Britain (§§ 340, 379). The upshot of these diplomatic arrangements was that in March 1744 France declared war against both Great Britain and Austria: in other words, instead of being merely rival auxiliaries to Powers formally at war one with another, France and Great Britain openly renewed their long-intermitted struggle. This time the fighting took place not only in Europe and in North America, but also in India. During the month before war was declared one British fleet had driven back a French Jacobite expedition, and another fleet had repulsed a Franco-Spanish squadron off Hyères, near Toulon.

351. Fall of Carteret, November 1744.—Meanwhile a ministerial struggle was going on within the British Cabinet between Carteret, now Earl Granville, and his colleagues. Granville's chief rivals were the two Pelhams, Thomas, Duke of Newcastle, who had been Secretary of State since 1724, and his younger brother Henry, who had also served under Walpole, and who had become First Lord of the Treasury on Wilmington's death in July 1743. The Pelhams were as willing as Granville to subsidise Austria against France, but they preferred the old familiar Whig diplomacy which centred at the Hague, to the new "Hanoverian" method which led into incomprehensible complications in Germany. They wanted to revive the "old system" of Anne's war-time. They were united among themselves, and controlled the votes in Parliament. When therefore, in November 1744, they asked the King to choose between themselves and Granville, George

was reluctantly compelled to yield to the "Whig Oligarchy" and dismiss his favourite minister. His Secretaryship was given to Lord Harrington, an old adherent of Walpole; and places were found for Chesterfield, Grenville, Bedford, and Grafton.

II. The Pelhams' "Broad-Bottom" Administration, 1744-1754.

352. Battle of Fontenoy, 1745.—The Pelhams readily accepted the French invitation to shift the chief theatre of the continental war from Germany to the Southern Netherlands; but they were far from successful there. In May 1745 George II.'s capable younger son, William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, nearly won a pitched battle at Fontenoy; but he was ultimately defeated by the skill of Marshal Saxe, the greatest general of the day, and by the vengeful valour of the Irish Brigade (§ 284). Shortly afterwards the British troops were withdrawn from the Netherlands to meet danger nearer home. Walpole was hardly dead (March 1745) before the Jacobite insurrection which he had so clearly foreseen, and which he had done so much to render hopeless, came to pass.

353. The Forty-Five: (i) The Advance to Derby, 1745.—In July 1745 Charles Edward, "the Young Pretender," landed on the West Coast of Scotland with "the Seven Men of Moidart"; and in August he set up his standard. He came without the sanction of his father, the Old Pretender, and with no support from France—whose ministers had learned that the hopeful prospects on which the extensive expedition of the previous year had been based were pure fabrications of Jacobite intriguers. Yet the daring and the winsome bearing of the young Chevalier were potent to persuade several of the principal Highland chieftains to throw in their lot with him. Sir John Cope, the Hanoverian commander in Scotland,

left the road to the south open; Prince Charles, moving rapidly south, successively occupied Perth and Edinburgh; and in the dawn of September 21 he surprised and defeated Cope at Prestonpans. Charles spent about five weeks keeping his Court in Edinburgh, and then resolved to make a dash for England. Marching through Carlisle, Preston, and Lancaster, he reached Derby early in December. Only a small force encamped at Finchley barred the way to London; and George II. packed up his jewels ready for flight to his native land. But the Highland army was small in number; it had gathered few recruits on its journey south; and it was in danger of being crushed by the larger armies of Wade and Cumberland in its rear. Against his will, Charles yielded to the cautious counsels of his advisers and gave the word to retreat.

354. (ii) **The Retreat to Culloden, 1746.**—Charles's retreat, like his advance, occupied just about four months. In its course he gained slight victories at Clifton near Penrith—the last battle fought on English soil—in December, and at Falkirk in the following January. The defeated generals, Cumberland and Hawley respectively, learned by experience how to deal with the Highland rush; and when they finally met Charles's dispirited and diminished forces on Culloden Moor near Inverness (April 6), they won a decisive victory. Charles passed through many hairbreadth escapes while wandering about the Highlands and Western Isles during the next five months; but at length the loyalty of the clansmen, and the devotion of Flora Macdonald, enabled him to return to France.

The British Government now exacted ample vengeance for its twelvemonth of alarm and anxiety, and also took steps to provide against the recurrence of rebellion. Besides striking a blow at Scottish sentiment by abolishing the office of Secretary of State for Scotland, which had been in existence since the Union of 1707, the Pelhams passed and enforced Acts disarming the Highlanders, forbidding the use

of their national costume, and putting an end to the hereditary jurisdictions of the clan chieftains. The policy of anglicisation was kept in force for a shorter time, and did less harm in Scotland than in Ireland. The worst result has been a partial depopulation of the Highlands; but this was less due to the Pelhams than to economic causes. A few years later, the elder Pitt found an outlet for Scottish military energy by forming Highland regiments which have ever since been among the most popular and efficient in the British Army.

355. The Two-Days' Ministry of Bath and Granville, February 1746.—In February 1746, shortly after the retreat from Derby had made the danger of a Jacobite restoration less imminent, but while it was still possible that "James VIII." might continue to hold Scotland, there was a renewed struggle for mastery between the Pelhams and the King. George II., in pursuance of his natural Hanoverian policy, wished to give more active help to Austria, especially against the possibility of a third attack by Prussia: the Pelhams wanted rather to oppose France in the Netherlands, and also to introduce Pitt into the Ministry. By way of putting pressure on the King, the Pelhams resigned office; George accepted their resignation and invited Bath and Granville to form an Administration. After being in office, according to the wits, for precisely "forty-eight hours, seven minutes, eleven seconds," they abandoned their allotted task, partly because they could find few politicians willing to become colleagues, and partly because they had so small a following in either House of Parliament. Once again Granville had made a mistake in fancying that "a minister with the King on his side could do anything"; once again George found himself "held prisoner" by his masterful servants; and the Pelhams returned to office, bringing Pitt with them. After a short time Pitt was made Paymaster of the Forces, a minor office which was chiefly valuable for the

patronage and perquisites attached to it. Though a poor man, he refused to enrich himself at the expense of his country and thus won a deserved reputation for incorruptibility, and consequently a widespread popularity which stood him in good stead in after years.

356. European Theatres of War, 1745-1748.—Meanwhile the wars begun since 1739 were still dragging on, but they had completely changed their direction. The various wars arising directly out of the question of the Austrian Succession had come to an end in 1745, when Frederick II. of Prussia brought to a close the Second Silesian War, and when Bavaria had abandoned all claims to the Hapsburg estates and recognised Maria Theresa's husband, Francis, Duke of Tuscany, as Emperor in succession to the dead Wittelsbach, Charles VII. France and Spain remained allies against Great Britain and Austria. The Austro-Spanish fighting took place in Italy and gave some employment to the British fleet in the Mediterranean. The Austro-French fighting took place in the Austrian Netherlands, which, despite British help in troops and subsidies, fell into French hands; and thus in 1747 the United Netherlands were at last drawn into the fray.

357. Maritime and Colonial Warfare, 1745-1748.—Great Britain was chiefly interested in the struggle against France, and the main fighting took place outside the European mainland. In June 1745 a force of New England colonists, aided by a British fleet, took the strong fortress of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island, which not only protected the French colonies on the St. Lawrence, but harboured privateers engaged in raiding the ships and shores of British North America. In September 1746 the French under La Bourdonnais captured Madras, the British head-quarters in India. In June 1747 Anson and Warren almost destroyed a French fleet off Cape Finisterre; and in the following October Hawke defeated another French fleet off Ushant and occupied

Belleisle. On the whole the French had the advantage by land, Great Britain by sea; and in 1747 the Sea Powers resolved to turn the scale on land by subsidising Russia to send an army into Western Europe.

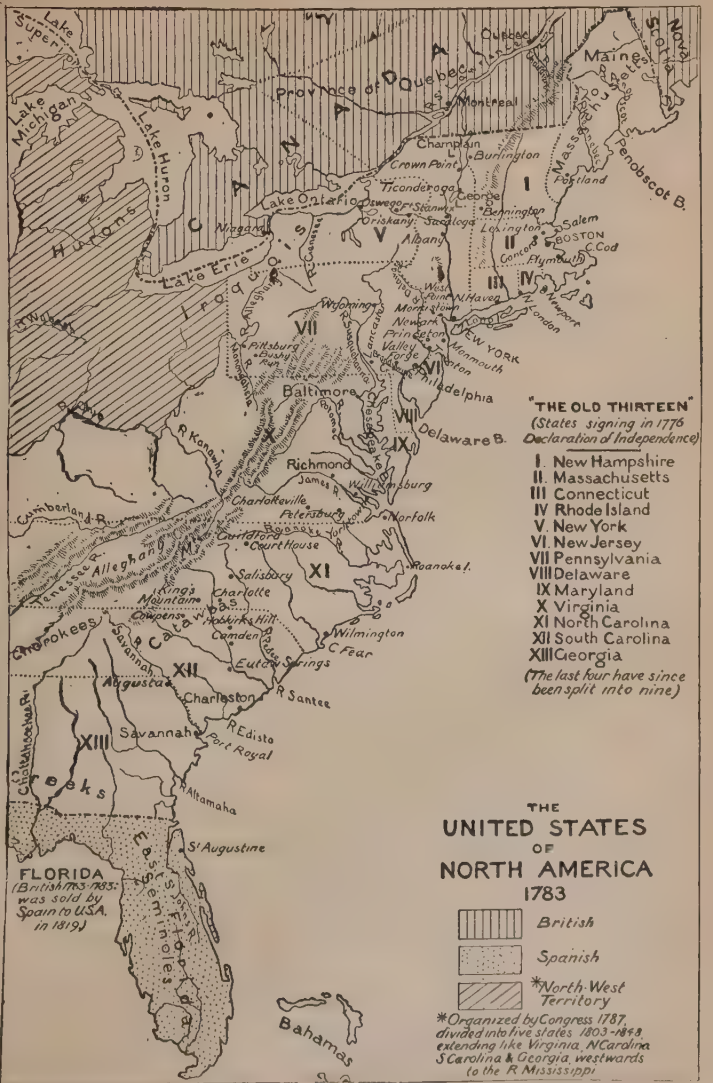
358. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748.—This display of energy led directly to the negotiations which resulted in the inconclusive *Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle*, 1748, which confirmed the cessions of territory made by Austria to Prussia and Sardinia, restored the duchies of Parma and Piacenza to the Bourbons (in the person of Charles's younger brother, Philip), and arranged that France and Great Britain should abandon their various conquests in the Netherlands, North America, and India. By a supplementary *Treaty of Madrid*, 1750, Great Britain abandoned her trade-rights with Spanish America in return for a lump sum down. Nothing was said about the Spanish claim to the "right of search" on the high seas; and nothing definite was settled in the case of the outstanding Anglo-French disputes in East and West. The wars of 1739 to 1748, in both their European and their extra-European aspects, were merely preliminary to the far greater struggle fought out in the Seven Years' War of 1756 to 1763 (ch. vii.).

359. The Pelham Peace, 1748-1754.—The six years following the *Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle* were almost uneventful. In 1750 Pelham rearranged the National Debt, which now stood at £78,000,000, in such a way that, though the capital sum was slightly increased, the annual charges were lowered by the reduction of the rate of interest from four or five per cent. to three per cent., and by consolidating fourteen different loans into four loans—thereafter known as "Consols." In 1751 the death of Frederick Prince of Wales weakened the Opposition and made it safe for the King and the Pelhams to agree in recalling Granville to the Ministry, in the dignified but unimportant office of Lord President of the Council. In the same year Chesterfield carried a useful

Calendar Act, whereby the British method of reckoning time was assimilated to that in use among the Western States of the Continent.

The Julian Calendar hitherto in use had made too liberal an allowance of leap years; and the error, though slight, had caused the time, as reckoned by it, to fall eleven days behind the true solar time. The error had been rectified by Pope Gregory XIII. in 1582 by temporary adjustments and by providing that for the future the last year of a century should not be accounted leap year unless it was divisible by 400. By Chesterfield's Act the Gregorian Calendar—hitherto contemned in England on account of its Popish origin—was adopted; the error of eleven days was got rid of by counting as September 14, 1752, the day which under the "Old Style" would have been September 3; and the year, from 1753 onwards, was legally appointed to begin on January 1 instead of March 25 as hitherto.

In 1753 the Lord Chancellor, Hardwicke, carried another reform by the *Marriage Act*, which tried to suppress in England clandestine and irregular marriages, by providing that no marriage, except in the case of Jews or Quakers, should be recognised as legal unless performed, after due notice or under special licence, by a duly qualified Anglican priest. In March 1754 Henry Pelham died, and was succeeded as First Lord and Prime Minister by his less capable brother, the Duke of Newcastle. It will be convenient to leave to the following book the manifold reasons which George II. had for his very true forecast: "Now I shall have no more peace."



"THE OLD THIRTEEN"
(States signing in 1776 Declaration of Independence)

I. New Hampshire
II. Massachusetts
III Connecticut
IV Rhode Island
V. New York
VI. New Jersey
VII Pennsylvania
VIII Delaware
IX Maryland
X Virginia
XI North Carolina
XII South Carolina
XIII Georgia

(The last four have since been split into nine)

THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA 1783

British

Spanish

*North-West Territory

*Organized by Congress 1787, divided into five states 1803-1848 extending like Virginia, N Carolina S Carolina & Georgia, westwards to the R Mississippi

BOOK II.

THE MAKING AND REMAKING OF EMPIRE, 1754-1793.

INTRODUCTION.

360. Retrospect, 1688-1754.—The half-century following the Protestant Revolution of 1688 was occupied with maintaining the principal result of that Revolution—namely the establishment of a Protestant Succession in the three British kingdoms. This task had involved the legislative union of the Protestant kingdoms of England and Scotland, the subjection of the dependent kingdom of Ireland to the English Protestant Ascendency, the fighting of three great wars against France and Spain, the development of a curious system of party-government, and a political toleration of non-episcopalian forms of Protestant church-government which was quite contrary to the traditions of the English State. During this period the course of political events had been largely controlled by constitutional considerations. But we now enter on a period when international and imperial considerations dominate the course of events, when British activity outside the British Isles for the first time rises to a position of acknowledged pre-eminence. George III.'s domestic struggles against the Whig Oligarchy, important though they be, sink into comparative insignificance beside the fight between Great Britain and France for North America and India, and its direct consequence, the American Revolution.

361. The Seven Years' War, 1756-1763.—When Henry Pelham died in 1754 Great Britain was nominally at peace. But in point of fact there were private wars going on in her

distant dependencies in North America and India which, much to the annoyance of the Home Government, developed into open war and became entangled with various hostilities among the great Powers of Europe. The combined conflict has a much less definite label—it is always known from its duration as "The Seven Years' War"—than its immediate predecessor, the so-called "War of the Austrian Succession"; but it was itself much more definite in object and much more decisive in its results. The difference was largely due to the fact that in the latter struggle two strong men were working together who knew what they wanted and how to get it—Frederick II. of Prussia and William Pitt.

Most of the wars of 1739-1748 had centred in Austria, though there were minor wars going on at the time among the Baltic States and between Great Britain and Spain. But the various contemporary wars which make up the Seven Years' War had two equally important centres of interest, one exclusively European, one mainly maritime and colonial. Almost simultaneously, Great Britain and Prussia became aware that they were being made the objects of hostile schemes by neighbouring Powers—France in the former case, Austria and Russia in the latter case; and in self-defence they sought each other's alliance. Their respective rivals followed their example; but, as they had still less in common than Prussia and Great Britain, their co-operation was never very effective. From a British point of view, the main result of all these complications was this: France chose to throw her whole strength into supporting Austria against Prussia (a quarrel in which she had little direct interest), and so weakened herself for her own struggle against Great Britain; and the consequence was that France lost the remainder of her possessions in North America and was reduced to political impotence in India.

362. George III.'s Constitutional Experiments, 1760-1770.—In the middle of the Seven Years' War, George II.

died and was succeeded by his grandson, George III. The new King gratified his subjects by saying that "he gloried in the name of Briton"; but what he really gloried in was the name of King. He wanted to restore the Kingship to what he conceived to be its rightful place in the constitution; but being young, inexperienced, and more liberally endowed with will-power than with intellect, he acted with more energy than tact, and sometimes forgot that the Kingship is not an end in itself but a means to an end—the good government of its subjects.

Accordingly he spent the first ten years of his reign in trying to find a minister who would really subordinate himself to his master's will; and in the course of this search he contrived to sacrifice many of the gains made in the Seven Years' War, to arouse the hostility of a large section of his subjects and to stoop to many political artifices were no better than those which had been used by his rivals, the heads of the Whig Oligarchy of former days. From this domestic turmoil the King emerged triumphant, but not unsmirched in reputation, with the establishment of Lord North as his chief minister in 1770.

363. The American Revolution, 1765-1783.—It was during North's long ministry (1770-1782) that various disputes between Great Britain and her dependencies reached a climax and began to tend towards settlement in favour of the dependencies. A series of attempts—reasonable in intention but unfortunate in method—to impose taxes on the American Colonists was met by protests on constitutional grounds, by riots and outrages of various kinds, and by armed resistance. The Colonists laid aside their mutual jealousies so far as to join together in declaring themselves independent in July 1776; in the following year they won at Saratoga such a conspicuous success that France deemed it safe to make open alliance with the rebels; and in 1781 the Allies won a decisive victory at Yorktown and thereby virtually secured the

independence of the Colonies. The American Revolution gave the Irish Parliament a chance of asserting its legislative independence of the Parliament of Great Britain; indirectly it involved Warren Hastings, the first British Governor-General in India, in difficulties from which nothing but his genius could have extricated the East India Company; and it brought about the fall of Lord North and the temporary overthrow of the political system which George III. seemed to have established so successfully.

364. Pitt's Years of Peace, 1783-1793.—Great Britain was never in a worse plight than that in which she found herself towards the close of the American Revolution; and her consolation was the not very satisfactory one that her enemies, France, Spain, and the new "United States of America," were in a still worse condition. The Bourbon Powers, by helping the revolted Colonists, were able to do considerable damage to Great Britain; but they obtained little reward for their pains, and were besides brought nearer to national bankruptcy. Moreover, Great Britain had the good fortune to get the start in emerging from the abyss. That was due partly to the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution, and partly to the establishment of the younger Pitt as chief Minister (1783-1801). The Industrial Revolution increased the material resources of Great Britain; and Pitt used these resources, during the ten years of peace allowed him, to revive the power of the Executive, to restore national credit, and to carry into effect a number of useful reforms. The result of his labours was to prepare Great Britain for the unprecedented burdens of the Great War in which she was involved through the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 and the rise of Napoleon to imperial Power.

The Seven Years' War.

Date.	West.	Ocean and France.	East.
1754.	Gt. Meadows (July 2).	Newcastle *vice* Pelham.	Recall of Dupleix.
1755.	Braddock beaten (July). Br. Colonists take **Beauséjour** and **Gaspereau.**	Boscawen in W. Atlantic.	Peace between the Br. and the Fr. Companies (Jan.).
1756, Jan.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
Apr.	.. ..	Fr. exped. to Minorca.	.. ..
May	Anglo-Fr. War decl. (17).	Byng to Minorca.	.. ..
June	.. ..	Fr. take **Minorca** (28).	"Black Hole" of Calcutta (20).
Aug.	Montcalm takes **Oswego** (14).	.. ..	.. ..
Oct.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
Nov.	.. ..	Pitt-Devonshire *vice* Newcastle.	Clive retakes **Calcutta** (2).
1757, Jan.	.. ..	Br. exped. to **Rochefort** fails.	Br. take **Chandarnagar.**
Apr.	Newcastle *vice* Pitt.	Pitt-Newcastle Miny.	**Plassey** (23). **Br.** v. *Beng.*
May	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
June	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
July	Br. exped. to **Quebec** fails.	.. ..	.. ..
Aug.	Fr. take **Ft. Wm. Henry.**	.. ..	.. ..
Sept.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
Nov.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
Dec.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
1758, Apr.	.. ..	.. ..	Lally to Pondicherry.
May	.. ..	Br. take **Fort S. Louis** (Senegal).	Lally takes **Ft. S. David.**
June	[take **Louisburg** (26).	Br. destroy **Cherbourg** and attack **S. Malo.**	.. ..
July	Br. attack **Ticonderoga** (8).	.. ..	.. ..
Aug.	Br. take **Frontenac** (27).	.. ..	.. ..
Oct.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
Nov.	Br. take **Ft. Duquesne** (25).	.. ..	.. ..
Dec.	.. ..	Br. take **Goree.**	.. ..
1759, Feb.	.. ..	.. ..	Fr. raise siege of **Madras.**
Apr.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
May	Br. take **Guadeloupe** (1).	.. ..	.. ..
June	Br. exped. to Quebec starts	.. ..	.. ..
July	[Ferdinand VI.	Br. bombard **Havre.**	.. ..
Aug.	Charles III., *Sp.*, succ.	**Lagos** (18). **Br.**	.. ..
Sept.	**Heights of Abraham** (13).	.. ..	Br. fleet defeated off **Trinkamali.**
Nov.	Br. take Quebec (18).	**Quiberon** (20). **Br.**	**Wandiwash** (22). **Br.**
1760, Jan.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
Feb.	.. ..	Thurot def. off **Man** (28)	.. ..
Sept.	Br. take **Montreal** (8).	.. ..	.. ..
Oct.	George III. succ. George	.. ..	.. ..
Nov.	II. (25).	.. ..	[(15).
1761, Jan.	.. ..	.. ..	Br. take **Pondicherry**
Feb.	.. ..	.. ..	Br. take **Mahé** (10).
July	Br. take **Dominica.**	Br. take **Belleisle.**	.. ..
Aug.	*"THIRD" BOURBON FAMILY COMPACT* (15).		
Oct.	.. ..	Bute *vice* Pitt.	.. ..
1762, Jan.	**BRITAIN** *v.* **SPAIN** (4).	**SPAIN** *v.* **PORTUGAL.**	.. ..
Feb.	Br. take **Martinique** (6).	.. ..	.. ..
May	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
July	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
Aug.	Br. take **Havana** (12).	.. ..	.. ..
Oct.	.. ..	Br. take **Manila** (6).	.. ..
Nov.	*PRELIMINARIES FONTAINEBLEAU.*		
1763, Feb.	*PEACE OF PARIS* (10) [*Fr.*, *Sp.*, *G. B.*, *Port.*].		

CHAPTER VII.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR, 1756-1763.

A. Personal History of George II. } See Chapter V.
B. Contemporary Rulers. }

C. Topics of the Period.

(i) **International**: *relations with*—
(1) Austria: §§ 373, 374, 379, 382.
(2) Russia: §§ 373, 380.
(3) Prussia: §§ 373, 374, 376, 380, 382.
(4) France: §§ 365-371, 373, 374, 376-379, 381, 382.
(5) Spain: §§ 379, 381, 382.

(ii) **Constitutional**:
(*a*) *Home Affairs* –
(1) Ministers: §§ 372, 375, 380.
(2) Monarchs: §§ 373, 380.
(*b*) *Colonial Affairs*—
(3) North America: §§ 370, 371, 372, 376, 377, 381, 382.
(4) India: §§ 366-369, 378, 382.

I. The Causes of the War, 1748-1756.

365. The General Circumstances of the War.—In examining the conditions which led to the outbreak of the Seven Years War, we have to survey an extremely wide field. It is not sufficient to know something of the leading political personalities of Europe and their dominant motives: we must also be acquainted with the geographical and historical conditions of the long submerged rivalries existing between some of these Powers with regard to their possessions and territorial influence outside Europe. It will be convenient to review the past relations between France and Great Britain in India and in North America before we pass to consider the international situation in Europe and the constitutional position in Great Britain at the commencement of the Seven Years' War.

366. European Merchants in India, 1600-1708.—During the seventeenth century, Portuguese, English, Dutch, and French merchant-companies obtained a foothold in India for

purposes of trade. Their objects were purely commercial, and their relations with the native prince were those of tolerated intruders. There had always been considerable competition between the different national companies, and the English company had often been exposed to competition by its own countrymen. But in 1708 the rival English traders were amalgamated into the united East India Company, which for the next hundred and fifty years played an ever-increasing part in Indian affairs. At that time the Company possessed small territories at Madras (1639) and Bombay (1662-1668), and had factories or trading stations at Calcutta and various other places. The French Company, which was much more dependent on the State than its British rival, had corresponding stations at Mahé on the Malabar coast, at Pondicherry on the Coromandel coast, and at Chandernagore on the Huglí. About the same time (in 1707) died Aurangzeb, the last of the great Mogul Emperors who for nearly two centuries had been the chief political power in India; and the outlying provinces of their Empire became practically independent—sometimes under Muhammadan Nawábs or Nabobs and sometimes under Hindu rájás, like the Maráthá princes.

367. First Anglo-French War in Coromandel, 1744-1748.—During the "War of the Austrian Succession" Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, resolved to make use of the native princes to expel the British merchants and establish the French Company as a political Power. The conditions of the Peninsula were more favourable for such a purpose than those obtaining further north. On the West coast the Maráthás, and near the Ganges delta the Nawáb of Bengal, proved powerful obstacles to European ambition; but the smaller states in the Deccan, fragments of the decayed Mogul Empire, offered a tempting opportunity. In 1746 Dupleix, aided by a French fleet under La Bourdonnais, captured Madras; and when the Nizám of the Deccan, the prince in whose territories Madras lay, claimed his share of the booty,

he was defeated in a pitched battle at St. Thomé. This battle not only gave Dupleix a great reputation, but also first revealed to the world at large the superiority of European troops and native troops (sepoys) drilled by Europeans over the usual native levies. The restoration of Madras to Great Britain at the *Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle*, 1748, deprived Dupleix of the most tangible fruit of his labours, but not of his prestige.

368. Second Anglo-French War in Coromandel, 1748-1754.—Dupleix used his influence to settle disputed successions to the thrones of the Deccan (capital Haidarábád) and of the Carnatic (capital Arcot) in favour of candidates acceptable to the French. It was clear to Saunders, the able Governor of Madras, that, if French influence became supreme in South India, the position of the British as traders would become untenable; and he therefore determined to help one of the defeated candidates who was holding out in Trichinopoly. Not being strong enough to relieve the beleaguered town, he made a diversion; and with this object Robert Clive, a young employé of the Company, surprised Arcot and held it against a greatly superior force, 1751. This brilliant feat turned the tide; and, after some years' desultory fighting, the Home Governments interfered and forced the Companies to make peace and to promise not to take part in native quarrels. Dupleix was recalled in 1754, and the peace was formally signed in 1755.

369. The Black Hole and Plassey, 1756-1757.—About the same time Clive, who had returned to England, was sent back to India, and he found the Company's affairs in a critical posture. Siráj-ud-daulá, the new Nawáb of Bengal, had picked a quarrel with the British merchants in his dominions, captured Calcutta, and imprisoned his one hundred and forty-six captives in a small room, where one hundred and twenty-three died of heat in a single night (June 20, 1756). The Madras Government dispatched Clive northwards to avenge

this "Black Hole" tragedy; and the result was that the Nawáb was defeated in a battle at Plassey (June 23, 1757). This victory virtually placed the rich province of Bengal at the disposal of the Company; but it was as yet disinclined to take up what a modern Anglo-Indian poet has called "the white man's burden." The Company contented itself with setting up a Nawáb of its own choice; and Clive took care that both the Company and its officials, including himself, should obtain ample rewards for their trouble. The importance of the battle of Plassey lies chiefly in the facts that it freed the Company from its embarrassments in Bengal before the French were in a position to renew their struggle in the South, and that it increased the resources of the Company for that struggle.

370. European Colonies in North America, 1700-1750.— During the early part of the seventeenth century, English colonies had been established in New England (Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island), and further south in Virginia and Maryland; Dutch colonies in the Hudson Valley; and French colonies in the St. Lawrence Valley (Canada and Acadie or Nova Scotia). During Charles II.'s reign, the Carolinas had been founded to compensate Cavaliers, and the Dutch possessions in the region between New England and Virginia had been captured by England and formed into the colonies of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania (including Delaware). Later, towards the close of the seventeenth century, French explorers had pushed up the St. Lawrence, and, travelling overland by various routes, had discovered the Mississippi, and established at its mouth a colony named Louisiana in honour of Louis XIV. Later still, the British had acquired the major part of Nova Scotia in the north at the expense of France (1713), and Georgia in the south at the expense of Spain (1733); but these extensions had all been along the coast. The hinterlands were claimed by France; and about 1750 the French authorities in Canada undertook the effective assertion of their claims by erecting

forts along the Ohio Valley. This deliberate attempt to hedge in the British Colonies between the Alleghanies and the sea (probably with a view to their ultimate conquest) alarmed some of the English Colonists and their English Governors; and the result was a kind of private war for some years, analogous to the contemporary war between the British and the French Companies in India.

371. Anglo-French Struggle for the Ohio Hinterlands, 1752-1755.—In 1752 Duquesne, the New French Governor of Canada, built a fort, called by his name, at a commanding point on the River Ohio (where Pittsburg now stands); in 1753 a young Virginian, George Washington, paid him a visit and pointed out courteously that he was trespassing; in 1754 Washington unsuccessfully tried to seize the fort; in 1755 Braddock, a general specially sent out by the British Government, was defeated and slain in making a similar attempt. In the same year Boscawen, the admiral in command of the British Channel Fleet, was instructed to intercept French reinforcements for Canada. Failing in that, he seized French merchantmen by way of retaliation for the occupation of Fort Duquesne. Thus at the very moment when disputes between the British and the French in India were being lulled to sleep, their quarrels were growing in intensity in America and were being brought nearer home.

372. Newcastle and his Colleagues, 1754-1755.—The British Government for the time being was not particularly competent for handling such questions. Newcastle, the head of the Government, had been for many years the Secretary of State in charge of the Colonies; but he had not even learnt that "Cape Breton was an island." He had had considerable difficulties in finding colleagues, for he wanted men able enough to do the work adequately and not so able as to cast him into the shade. In particular, he had been troubled to find a man fit to be leader of the House of Commons. Sir Thomas Robinson, his first choice, had been so much ridiculed

as a "jackboot" by his more brilliant colleagues, Henry Fox and William Pitt, that he was forced to resign. In November 1755 Fox accepted his office and so incurred the lifelong hostility of Pitt.

373. Treaties of Westminster and Versailles, 1756.—The most fertile cause of dissension in ministerial circles was the question of means for defending Hanover against the French attack which appeared imminent. George II. wanted to renew the intimate alliance with Austria; but Austria did not respond cordially to his advances. In the course of 1755 various subsidy-treaties for the defence of Hanover were made with German princes and also with Russia; and in January 1756 a similar treaty was made with Prussia. The conclusion of the Anglo-Prussian *Convention of Westminster* caused the protracted negotiations for an alliance between Austria and France to attain sudden completeness in the "First" *Treaty of Versailles*, May 1756. Maria Theresa and her chief minister, Kaunitz, were principally bent on wresting Silesia from Frederick the Great (§ 346); and in this treaty they in effect persuaded Louis XV. to help them without his receiving any real advantage in return. In June 1756 the French attacked and captured Minorca, which the British fleet under Byng failed to relieve. In August Frederick II. invaded Saxony, and thus began the Third Silesian War.

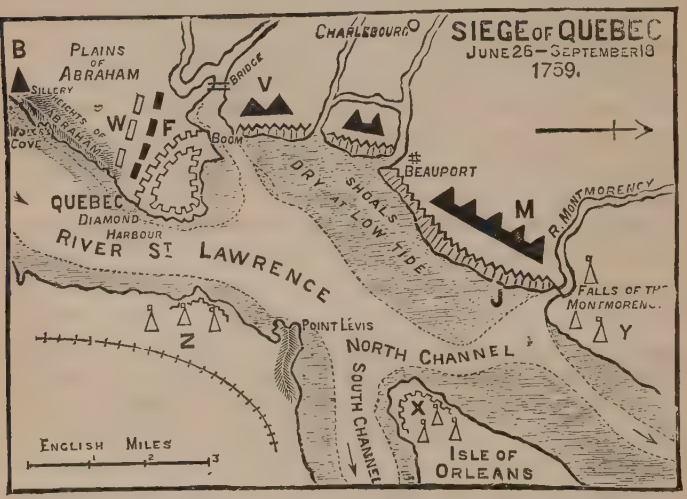
II. The Course of the War, 1756-1763.

374. Main Theatres of the Seven Years' War, 1756-1763.—The invasions of Minorca and Saxony marked respectively the recommencement of the old Anglo-French and Austro-Prussian duels; and those duels, connected by the treaties of Westminster and Versailles, form the essence of the Seven Years' War. That war, in its European aspects, consisted of attacks on Prussia by Austria and Russia, with the

active help of France and the languid help of Saxony and Sweden: naturally therefore the chief theatres of war were in and around the dominions of Prussia. In its extra-European aspects, the war was a struggle between Great Britain and France (joined by Spain in 1762) for supremacy in North America and India; and as such it was fought out partly in those regions and partly on the connecting seas. The series of campaigns in which Frederick the Great held his own against overwhelming odds concerned Great Britain only in so far as they helped to divert the attention of France from the struggle in America and Asia, until in those regions she had been hopelessly defeated.

375. The Rise of Pitt to Power, 1756-1767.—Great Britain was ill prepared for war and at first fared badly. The loss of Minorca in 1756, followed by Montcalm's capture of Oswego, the British fortress on Lake Ontario, aroused violent attacks on the Ministry; and in November 1756 Newcastle resigned. He was succeeded by the Duke of Devonshire, with Pitt as Secretary of State. The new Ministry was popular, but it disappointed the unreasonable expectation that it could at once change the course of events. It organised a militia and built forts to protect England from invasion; but its chief offensive operation—an attack on Rochefort—was completely unsuccessful. This ministry failed to save Byng from being shot for his failure to relieve Minorca. In April 1757 the King, who had not yet forgiven Pitt for his youthful attacks on Hanover, dismissed the Ministry and recalled Newcastle. But Newcastle needed something more than a numerical majority in the House of Commons to carry on the war; and in June 1757 he took Pitt into partnership. In this Pitt-Newcastle Administration the Whig Oligarchy—thanks to the genius of Pitt, who was in it but not of it—reached its highest pitch of power and performed its greatest services for the nation.

376. The Campaigns of 1757-1758.—For some months the British run of ill-luck continued. In America, an expedition against Quebec proved abortive, and Fort William Henry was taken by the French; in Germany, Cumber-



British and Colonial troops, under Wolfe, 8,000 = ▭ △

X = Wolfe's First Camp and Batteries, June 26.

Y = Wolfe's Second Camp (evacuated after the failure of his attack at J, July 31).

Z = Wolfe's Third Camp and Batteries.

W = Wolfe's Position (with about 3,600 men) at the

French and Canadian troops, under Montcalm, 13,000 = ▬ ▲

M = Montcalm's Head-quarters during July.

V = Vaudreuil's Head-quarters during July.

B = Bougainville's Detachment, after Saunders' ships had sailed past Quebec, July 18.

F = Montcalm's Position (with 4,000 men) at the

Battle of the Heights of Abraham, September 13, 1759.

land was defeated by the French at Hastenbach in July 1757, and compelled to promise to evacuate Hanover by the *Convention of Klosterseven* (September 1757). But the inspiring energy of Pitt soon began to make itself felt. Casting aside his old prejudices against intervention in

Germany, Pitt repudiated the *Convention of Klosterseven*, secured from Parliament a subsidy of nearly three-quarters of a million for Frederick, and obtained from the Prussian king a competent general, Ferdinand of Brunswick, for the command of the Anglo-Hanoverian army which protected Hanover and Frederick's western frontier from French attack. But Pitt was more interested in the West than in Europe, and supported Prussia merely in order to "win America on the fields of Germany." There also in 1758 British operations were mainly, but not uniformly, successful. Boscawen and Amherst captured Louisburg in July; in August Fort Frontenac (now Kingston) was taken; and in November Fort Duquesne was occupied by an English force. The last-named place was renamed Fort Pitt (now Pittsburg) by the Colonials in honour of the man who understood their needs and was able to pick out the men who could help them.

377. Minden, Lagos, Quebec, Quiberon Bay, 1759.—The following year, however, was the year of Pitt's greatest triumphs: "it was necessary," says Horace Walpole, "to ask every morning what new victory there was for fear of missing one." The series of victories began with the battle of Minden (August 1), whereby Ferdinand of Brunswick swept the French out of Hanover. A fortnight later Boscawen fell in with the French Toulon fleet off Lagos in Portugal, and left very little of it to join the Channel squadrons in the projected scheme for the invasion of the British Isles. In November Hawke treated the Brest fleet in much the same way in a fight off Quiberon. Meanwhile for three weary summer months a British force under Wolfe and Saunders had been besieging the fortress of Quebec; then, when most men were beginning to despair, Wolfe hit upon the plan which led to success. On the night of September 12 he scaled the Heights of Abraham, and in the morning of the 13th defeated Montcalm in a battle which made the surrender of Quebec inevitable. Neither commander lived to see this

result. The British conquest of Canada was completed by the surrender of Montreal a year later.

378. Battle of Wandiwash, 1760.—Meanwhile the Anglo-French struggle in India had for some time seemed to be going in favour of the French. A strong French force under Lally arrived in 1758 and promptly took Fort St. David. But Lally soon ruined his chances, partly by his ignorance of Indian politics, partly by making himself intolerable to his colleagues and subordinates. His naval colleague abandoned him and sailed away to Mauritius; and when Lally laid siege to Madras, it was relieved by the British fleet (February 1759). Having the command of the sea, the British could readily draw supplies from Bengal; this was one of the reasons why Eyre Coote was able to defeat and capture Lally and Bussy in the decisive battle of Wandiwash, in January 1760. Just a year later Pondicherry fell into the hands of the British; and the French hope of ascendency in India was at an end.

379. Charles III. and the Third Bourbon Family Compact, 1761.—So far, the Allies of 1756 had been tolerably faithful to their treaty obligations; and the advantage had remained with Great Britain and Prussia. But France had got over her early infatuation for Austria, and was beginning to see that her activity in Germany had been entirely misdirected. The rise of Choiseul to power in France, 1758, and the accession of Charles III. in Spain, 1759, were prominent causes of the slackening of the Austro-French alliance. Charles III., the Don Carlos of former days, was an old enemy of Great Britain; and his accession to the Spanish throne was speedily followed by the renewal of the Bourbon alliance in the great *Family Compact* of August 1761 (cp. §§ 340, 350). Pitt got wind of this treaty and wished to forestall Spanish attacks on Great Britain by attacking Spain; but, being overruled in the Cabinet, he tendered his resignation, which was accepted in October (§ 384).

380. The Breach between Prussia and Great Britain, 1762.—Pitt's resignation was the direct result of another change of monarchs. In October 1760 George II. had been succeeded by his grandson, George III., who was eager to bring the war to a close and to get rid of the Ministers who were conducting it. He had introduced his former tutor, the Earl of Bute, into the Ministry; and Bute had been the King's spokesman in withstanding Pitt's proposals for making war against Spain. Bute's next step was to discontinue paying subsidies to Prussia; and Frederick was saved from ruin only because the Tsarina Elizabeth died in January 1762, and was succeeded, after an interval, by Katharine II., who did not share her predecessor's persistent enmity to Prussia. Thus Bute's sudden change of front did not destroy Prussia, but it eventually harmed Great Britain by offending her one ally in Europe—an ally who might have stood her in good stead in the hour of her sorest need (§§ 407-415).

381. Anglo-Spanish War, 1762-1763.—Bute shook off the burden of the Prussian alliance, but he was not able to avoid the struggle with Spain against which he had previously protested. He was compelled to declare war in January 1762. The Spanish interposition came too late to turn the scale against Great Britain. In the course of 1762 all the remaining French islands in the West Indies were captured by British fleets, and the Spanish colony towns of Havana in Cuba and Manila in the Philippines shared their fate. The allied Bourbons were powerless in the face of the maritime supremacy of Great Britain.

382. Peace of Paris, February 1763.—All the Powers concerned were weary of the war, and some had special reasons for bringing it to a close. In February 1763 the Austro-Prussian War was ended by the *Peace of Hubertsburg*, which restored the *status quo*, and the Anglo-Bourbon War was ended by the *Peace of Paris*, which consisted of voluntary

restorations on the part of Great Britain and compulsory cessions on the part of France and Spain.

(i) FRENCH CESSIONS TO GREAT BRITAIN: Canada, Cape Breton Island, Eastern Louisiana (*i.e.* all French territory east of the river Mississippi), Grenada, Senegal, and Minorca (restored).

(ii) SPANISH CESSIONS TO GREAT BRITAIN: Florida and the right to cut mahogany in Honduras.

(iii) BRITISH RESTORATIONS TO FRANCE: all territories in India (on condition that they were not to be fortified), Goree, Guadeloupe, and Belleisle (in exchange for Minorca).

(iv) BRITISH RESTORATIONS TO SPAIN: Cuba and the Philippines.

CHAPTER VIII.

GEORGE III.'S CONSTITUTIONAL EXPERIMENTS, 1760-1770.

A. Personal History.—Eldest of the four sons of Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales (*d.* 1751) and Augusta of Saxe-Coburg, George was born at Norfolk House, London, May 24 (N.S., June 4), 1738; succeeded his grandfather, George II., as King of Great Britain and Elector of Hanover, October 25, 1760; married Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (*d.* November 17, 1818), September 8, 1761; crowned at Westminster, September 22, 1761; had nine sons and six daughters; became insane in 1810; died at Windsor, January 29, 1820. For his more important family connections see Table, p. 58.

B. Contemporary Rulers (to 1789).

Papacy.	Empire.	Prussia.	France.	Spain.	Poland.	Russia.
Clement XIII. (1758)	Francis I. (1745)	Frederick II. (1740)	Louis XV. (1715)	Charles III. (1759)	Augustus III. (1733-1763)	Elizabeth (1741)
Clement XIV. (1769)	Joseph II. (1765-1790)				Stanislaus Augustus (1764-1795)	Peter III. (1762)
Pius VI. (1775-1800)		Frederick William II. (1786-1797)	Louis XVI. (1774-1792)	Charles IV. (1788-1808)	Partitions (1772-1795)	Katharine II. (1762-1796)

C. Topics of the Period.

(i) **International**: *relations with*—
- (1) France: §§ 386, 389, 391.
- (2) Spain: §§ 386, 389, 391.
- (3) Prussia: §§ 386, 389, 391.
- (4) Bengal: § 394.

(ii) **Constitutional.**
- (1) King and Ministers: §§ 383-386, 388-393.
- (2) Wilkes: §§ 386, 393.
- (3) India: §§ 391, 394.
- (4) America: §§ 387, 390, 391.

I. Bute, Grenville, and Wilkes, 1760-1765.

383. George III.'s Character and Policy.—George III.'s accession effected great changes in both the international and

the constitutional position of Great Britain. He differed from his two predecessors of the House of Guelf in being British in birth and education; and the consequence of this was that he paid more attention to his island realm than to his continental electorate (which he never took the trouble to visit), and was more interested in home affairs than in foreign affairs. His mother, the Princess of Wales, and her friend, the Earl of Bute, impressed upon him that it was his duty to "be a King," and to carry out the programme sketched by Bolingbroke in his pamphlet, *The Patriot King*. In other words, he meant to choose his own ministers and to dictate his own policy; and, in order to do this, he must needs overthrow the Whig Oligarchy which had domineered over the first two Georges.

384. Fall of the Pitt-Newcastle Ministry, 1761-1762.—His first step was to appoint his old tutor, Bute, Secretary of State, in order that he might represent the King's personal views in the Cabinet. The consequence was the speedy break-up of the Pitt-Newcastle Ministry. Pitt resigned in October 1761, because his colleagues refused to accept his decision that war against Spain was necessary: Newcastle resigned in May 1762, because he was no longer allowed to exercise the patronage of the Crown. Bute, who succeeded Newcastle as First Lord of the Treasury, was not well qualified by experience to act as head of the Government; while his Scottish origin and his intimacy with the Princess of Wales (upon which the worst construction was put) made him unpopular. With the help of Henry Fox, and with the prestige and the patronage of the Crown behind him, George III. set himself to build up a party of his own, to support his measures in Parliament. This party was drawn partly from the Whigs, some of whom favoured the Prerogative, but mainly from the Tories, who saw that Jacobitism was dead; it became known as "the King's Friends"; and it formed the nucleus of a new Tory party.

385. Bute's Administration, 1762-1763.—The principal events of Bute's short-lived Administration were the Spanish War, the desertion of Prussia, and the negotiation of the *Peace of Paris.* Bute, like Bolingbroke half a century before (1713), let off a beaten foe lightly in order to have leisure for carrying out changes at home; and, like Bolingbroke, he was hotly attacked for making peace on terms less favourable than the circumstances warranted. Frightened by his unpopularity, Bute resigned in April 1763, and was succeeded by George Grenville.

386. Wilkes and the North Briton, 1763.—Amongst Bute's most outspoken critics was John Wilkes, a member of Parliament and a brilliant but disorderly man of fashion, whose paper, the *North Briton,* was, in both title and contents, a jibe at Bute's nationality. In No. 45 of this paper, issued in April 1763, the King's Speech eulogising the Peace was criticised in such terms that Lord Halifax, Secretary of State, issued a general warrant for the arrest of its authors, printers, and publishers, on the charge of uttering a seditious libel. The charge may have been reasonable enough, but the methods adopted gave the opponents of the Government an opportunity of which they were not slow to take advantage. Wilkes, who was one of the persons arrested under the warrant, became a popular hero; the judges set him at liberty on the ground of his privilege as a member of Parliament; and this impartial decision carried more weight than the party vote of the House of Commons that privilege did not protect a member from the penalties due for libel.

Wilkes was soon afterwards outlawed for printing indecent literature at his private press; but a few years later both he and others obtained damages for unlawful imprisonment under the general warrant. Altogether, the affair cost the Government over £100,000 in money, and did it an incalculable amount of harm in prestige. Wilkes and his supporters sedulously fostered the popular impression that the

King and the Parliament were engaged in a conspiracy against the "Rights of the People."

387. George Grenville's Administration, 1763-1765.—The Wilkes affair was the most notorious event during George Grenville's Administration; but his attempt to tax the American Colonies was the most important. That attempt will be discussed later (§ 401); but its connection with the general attitude of the Government may be shown here. The attack on Wilkes and the *Stamp Act* of 1765 were in themselves natural and defensible attempts to assert the authority of the Government; but they were performed in such a way that they called forth the bitter hostility of the unrepresented classes in England and America. George Grenville, like his master, was honest and well-meaning, but deficient in the higher qualities of statesmanship: in particular, he had a lawyer-like belief in the strength of legal rights, which stands in marked contrast to the attitude of Walpole and Chatham, the most successful statesmen of the eighteenth century. But while he was at one with George III. as to the proper relations between the governing and the governed classes, they fell out as to the proper relations that should subsist among the governors themselves. George III. thought that his Ministers should be what their name imports—servants to do his bidding: Grenville, a "Whig Royalist," thought that the Ministers should have a mind of their own—showing deference, but not subservience, to the King.

388. The Regency Bill, 1765.—This difference of opinion became more marked after George III. had been compelled to obtain the support of the Whig group headed by the Duke of Bedford, known at the time as the "Bloomsbury Gang." Bedford himself became President of the Council in succession to Granville, and a secretaryship was given to the Earl of Sandwich. This Grenville-Bedford Ministry fell in the summer of 1765, not because it was unpopular, but because

its dictatorial conduct offended the King. Early in 1765 George became insane for a time; and on his recovery it was thought well to make arrangements for a regency in case he should again fall ill. In the measure introduced into Parliament the ministers proposed to exclude the Princess of Wales from becoming Regent; and George, offended by the slight put upon his mother, began to look out for more tolerable ministers.

389. George in Search of a Ministry, 1765.—George III. and Bute had some time since discovered their mistake in quarrelling with Pitt. The "Great Commoner" was not himself a member of any of the great Whig families—though he was allied by marriage to the Grenvilles—and had small sympathy with their endeavour to keep the government exclusively in their own hands. On the contrary, he believed that the government should be directed by the King in such a way as to secure the hearty support, and not merely the passive acquiescence, of the nation, irrespective of party; and he showed so much deference to the King that "when he bowed to him his hooked nose could be seen between his crooked legs." Overtures had already been made to him on Bute's resignation, and now they were repeated when a successor was wanted to Grenville. On the former occasion he had declined office because he was not allowed to choose his own colleagues: on the present occasion the negotiations broke down partly because Pitt could not persuade Earl Temple to join him, and partly because his stipulations for a renewal of the Prussian alliance in opposition to the *Family Compact* were not agreeable to the King. The course of British history might have been very different had George III. and Pitt been able to come to terms at this juncture.

II. Rockingham, Grafton, and Junius, 1765-1770.

390. Rockingham's Ministry, July 1765-July 1766.—Unable to secure the aid of Pitt, George was compelled to fall back on the main body of the Whigs. Their leader, the Marquess of Rockingham, became First Lord of the Treasury, and Newcastle and Grafton were amongst his colleagues. Rockingham himself is chiefly important because he introduced into politics Edmund Burke, a young Irishman who was destined to make his mark on British political thought. Rockingham's Ministry was chiefly important for endeavours to undo part of the work of his predecessors: it got the House of Commons to pass a resolution accepting the judge's opinion that general warrants were illegal, and it repealed Grenville's American *Stamp Act* as a matter of expediency. The King secretly opposed his own Ministers, and, after weakening them till they were barely able to carry on the government, he dismissed them and called in Pitt.

391. Chatham's Ministry, 1766-1768.—Pitt was no longer the man he had been during his first Ministry: his health was giving way; and though he formed the Ministry and planned an ambitious policy, he was unable to exercise any effective control over the conduct of affairs. Instead of taking his old part as Secretary and leader of the House of Commons, he took the unimportant office of Lord Privy Seal, and retired to the House of Lords with the title of Earl of Chatham. He had large schemes for renewing war on the Bourbons in alliance with Prussia and for reforming the political administration of the East India Company in India. In his absence through ill-health, his colleagues supported and carried a fresh Bill for taxing America devised by the brilliant but shallow Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend. Townshend died in September 1767, before the ill effects of this rash measure became manifest, and was succeeded by Lord North; and a year later Chatham formally

withdrew from the Ministry and left the headship to the First Lord of the Treasury, the Duke of Grafton.

392. Burke and Junius, 1768-1770.—Grafton possessed the confidence neither of the King, nor of the Commons, nor of the masses outside political circles. He and his colleagues were the subject of virulent attacks in the famous letters which the mysterious "Junius" contributed to a paper called the *Public Advertiser*; and they were also attacked in more decorous language by Burke, whose *Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents* (1770) condemned with philosophic calm George III.'s theory and practice of government, especially his habit of following the advice of persons other than his responsible ministers.

393. Wilkes and the Middlesex Election, 1768-1769.—The Ministry also became entangled in another contest with Wilkes, and again obtained a formal victory at the expense of a practical failure. In 1768 Wilkes had come back to England, and was returned as member for Middlesex in the General Election of that year. He was thrice rejected by the House of Commons as disqualified for sitting under his recent sentences, and thrice elected by the Middlesex electors. On the third occasion (1769) he had an opponent, Colonel Luttrell, who was accepted by the House of Commons on the ground that votes cast in favour of Wilkes were invalid. The dispute caused great excitement throughout the country; men who ordinarily took no part in politics formed societies, attended public meetings, and signed petitions in favour of Wilkes and the "Rights of the People"; and this agitation is generally considered to mark the birth of modern Radicalism. George stood by the Ministry in its fight against Wilkes, but he thwarted it in other respects; and in January 1770 Grafton resigned his position and made way for his principal colleague, Lord North. North was a man after George's own heart, and he was therefore able to retain office for twelve years (ch. ix.).

394. Clive's Second Governorship of Bengal, 1765-1767.—While these parliamentary squabbles were going on at home Clive had been doing great things in India. During his absence from Bengal (1760-1765) the British Governors had quarrelled with the new Nawáb, Mír Kásim; he had retaliated by massacring Europeans at Patna; and, after being defeated by Major Munro at Buxar (October 23, 1764), he had been deposed. The battle of Buxar had more important consequences than the better-known battle of Plassey. Clive now made up his mind that quarrels between British officials and native rulers in Bengal could be avoided only if the Company took a greater share of power and responsibility. Accordingly, the *Treaty of Allahábád*, August 1765, arranged that the Company was (1) to act as Diwán, or Treasurer, on behalf of the Nawáb of Bengal; and (2) to collect the taxes (about £2,000,000 per annum), keeping about half the total amount for itself, and handing over the balance to the Nawáb and his suzerain, the Great Mogul. As far as possible, native officials were employed in the actual work of collecting the taxes; and every attempt was made to disguise the installations of the Company as a territorial power. Clive also tried to check the rapacity of British officials by securing them larger salaries and by forbidding the receipt of gifts from natives. When he returned to England the House of Commons, after listening to attacks on his honesty, formally declared that Clive "had rendered meritorious services to his country."

The American Revolution.

GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA.

DATE.	NORTHERN COLONIES.	SOUTHERN COLONIES.	GREAT BRITAIN.
1754.	Fr. build Ft. Duquesne.	FRANKLIN'S ALBANY [PLAN OF UNION.	NEWCASTLE *vice* PELHAM.
1759.	Br. take Quebec.	.. ..	Br. Sea Victories.
1760.	.. ..	.. ..	GEORGE III.
1761.	*Writs of Assistance Case.*	.. ..	BUTE *vice* PITT.
1763.	[Pontiac War.	*P. OF PARIS* (Feb. 10)	GRENVILLE *vice* BUTE.
1764.	Bushy Run ends the	.. ..	Stamp duties mooted.
1765.	STAMP ACT CONGRESS.		*Stamp Act.* ROCKINGHAM.
1766.	.. ..	.. ..	*Stamp Act* rpld. CHAT'M.
1767.	.. ..	.. ..	*Townshend's Duties Act.*
1768.	British troops to Boston.	.. ..	GRAFTON *vice* CHATHAM.
1769.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
1770.	Boston Massacre (Mar. 5).	.. ..	NORTH *vice* GRAFTON
1771.	[June 10).	.. ..	[(Jan.).
1772.	Burning of *The Caspée*	Comm. of Corres.	.. ..
1773.	Boston Tea Party (Dec. 16).	[ence.	.. ..
1774, June	FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.		North's "*Intolerable*
Oct.	*DECLARATION OF RIGHTS* (14).		[*Acts.*"
	Gage *vice* Hutchinson.	.. ..	General Election.
1775, Apr.	Lexington (19): A. [(10).	Howe *vice* Gage.	.. ..
May	Ticonderoga taken by A.	2nd Continental Congress.	.. ..
June	Bunker Hill (17): Br.	Washington appointed	.. ..
Dec.	Quebec (31): Br.	[C.-in-C. (15).	.. ..
1776, Mar.	Br. evac. Boston (17).	***End of New England War-Section.***	
June	.. ..	Ft. Moultrie (28): A.	.. ..
July	*DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE* (4).		
Aug.	Brooklyn Heights (27): Br.	[Philadelphia.	.. ..
Sept.	Br. take New York (15)	and advance towards	.. ..
Dec.	.. ..	Trenton (25): A.	.. ..
1777, Jan.	.. ..	Princeton (3): A. ?	.. ..
July	Br. occ. Ticonderoga (5).	.. ..	.. ..
Aug.	Oriskany (6), Bennington (16): A.	[('26)	.. ..
Sept.	Bemis Heights (19): A.	Br., occ. Philadelphia	.. [*Section.*
Oct.	SURR. OF SARATOGA (17).	Germantown (4): Br.	***End of Central War-***
1778, June	Monmouth (28): Br. defeated during retreat		Death of Chatham (May).
July	Ind. Raid on Wyoming	[from Philadelphia.	.. ..
Dec.	[Vall. (3).	Br. take Savannah (29).	.. ..
1779, July	Stony Point seized by A.	[retake Savannah (9).	.. ..
Oct.	[(15).	Fr.-Amer. force fails to	.. ..
Sept.	G. R. Clarke's Cam-	Paul Jones's Vict. off Flamborough (23).	
1780, May	paigns on Western	Br. take Charleston (12).	.. ..
Aug.	Frontier.	Camden (16): Br.	Gordon Riots, etc.
Sept.	Treason of Arnold.	.. ..	.. ..
Oct.	.. ..	King's Mountain (7): A.	.. ..
1781, Jan.	.. ..	Cowpens (17): A. [Br.	.. ..
Mar.	.. ..	Guildford Courthse. (15):	.. ..
Apr.	.. ..	Hobkirk's H. (25): drawn.	.. ..
Sept.	.. ..	Eutaw Springs (8): drawn	[*War-Section.*
Oct.	.. ..	SURRENDER OF YORK-	***End of Southern***
1782, Mar.	.. ..	.. [TOWN (19): A.	ROCKINGHAM *vice* NORTH.
July	.. ..	.. ..	SHELBURNE *vice* ROCK-
Nov.	*Preliminaries of Peace* (30) [*Gr. Br., U.S.A.*].		[INGHAM (d. 1.)
1783, Apr.	.. ..	.. ..	PORTLAND *vice* SHEL-
Sept.	*PEACE OF VERSAILLES* (3) [*Gr. Br., U.S.A.*].		[BURNE.

CHAPTER IX.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1765-1783.

A. Personal History of George III. } See Chapter VIII.
B. Contemporary Rulers. }

C. Topics of the Period.

(i) **International**: *Relations with*—
(1) France: §§ 396, 407-409, 413-415.
(2) Spain: §§ 396, 400, 407, 408, 414, 415.
(3) Baltic Powers: §§ 396, 412.
(4) United Netherlands: §§ 412, 415.
(5) United States: §§ 405-408, 413, 415.

(ii) **Constitutional.**
(1) Ministries: §§ 395, 401, 410, 415.
(2) Parliament: §§ 395, 397, 401, 402, 410, 411.
(3) Ireland: §§ 407, 410.
(4) India: §§ 398, 409, 414, 415.
(5) American Colonies: §§ 397, 399-405.

I. Lord North and the East, 1770-1773.

395. Lord North's Constitutional Position, 1770-1782.—During the first ten years of George III.'s reign seven different "administrations" may be distinguished, whereas Lord North's administration lasted twelve years. North was assuredly not a much abler man than his predecessors, nor was his task much lighter, nor did he perform his work with greater success—for the latter part of his Ministry was one of the gloomiest periods of British History. What then is the reason for the marked contrast between the first and the second decades of George III.'s reign? The answer is, that North had the King's support, and, having his support, had also his "influence," which enabled him to maintain his hold over the House of Commons. George had successfully pitted the different sections of the Whigs against one another till they had no strength left except for opposition, and had

made his own party, the King's Friends, the strongest of the party-groups. North had the knack of managing the House of Commons, and he managed it with the prime object of getting the King's orders obeyed. For convenience' sake he is made to figure in the roll of British "prime ministers," but his strength lay in the fact that he was not a "prime minister" in the same sense as Walpole or the Pitts.

396. Lord North's International Position, 1770-1772.— On Grafton's resignation, George III. practically had to choose between North and Chatham. It is possible that had Chatham been selected, the breach with the American Colonies might have been postponed; but, on the other hand, it is probable that he would have plunged the country into international complications. There were various things happening in Europe which might have caused the renewal of war between Great Britain and the Bourbons. In 1766 France acquired Lorraine under the treaty of 1735; in 1768 she bought from the Republic of Genoa the right of conquering the island of Corsica; and in 1769 Spain expelled a British garrison from the Falkland Islands. There were many who wished Great Britain to withstand in arms these "encroachments" of the House of Bourbon. Further east, the death of Augustus III., King of Poland, in 1763 led to troubles not altogether dissimilar to those attending the death of his predecessor thirty years before, but ending in a quite different way—namely, in the First Partition of Poland in 1772 between Austria, Prussia, and Russia. The exclusion of Chatham from office was one of the reasons why Great Britain abstained from trying to check the aggrandisement of France and the Eastern Powers; and France, though constantly preparing for vengeance against her successful maritime rival, followed the example of abstention set by Great Britain and refused to help Spain in the Falkland Islands. North was therefore able, in the early days of his ministry, to reinstate the British garrison.

397. King, Parliament, and Press, 1770-1772.—North began his ministry with a measure of conciliation which kept affairs in America quiet for a short time; and before the threatened storm burst there, some notable things took place nearer home. In 1770 Grenville carried an Act which transferred the decision of election petitions from the whole House of Commons (where they were treated as party questions pure and simple) to a committee of the House pledged to treat the cases judicially. In the following year the House of Commons plunged into another dispute with Wilkes, and was again virtually beaten. The Commons desired to preserve their privilege of Secrecy of Debate from infringement by the publication of reports of their debates and proceedings; and with this object they imprisoned printers who had published reports. Wilkes and other magistrates of the City of London successfully fought for the Liberty of the Press in this respect, and so made it possible for the outside public to have more exact knowledge of what went on in Parliament. While Parliament was thus compelled to become less mysterious and exclusive, the Kingship became more exclusive. In 1772 North passed a *Royal Marriage Act* which made it illegal for any descendant of George II. to contract a valid marriage before the age of twenty-five without the consent of the reigning monarch.

398. North's Regulating Act, 1773.—More important was the Act which North passed in 1773 for the regulation of Indian affairs. Despite the territorial acquisitions and administrative reforms of Lord Clive, the East India Company had got into debt and had acquired an evil reputation through the rapacity of its officials. Stories of the devastation wrought by a great famine in Bengal, in 1770, reached the home country and made men's consciences uneasy; the result was the passing of the *Regulating Act*, which appointed a Governor-General in Bengal having general power of supervision over all other British officials in India

but responsible to the Home Government. The Act itself was well-meaning but weak: fortunately for Great Britain, however, Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General appointed under it, was well-meaning and strong.

II. Lord North and the West, 1773-1777.

399. English Colonies in North America, 1607-1733.—The *Regulating Act* was accompanied by a measure which, intended to benefit the finances of the East India Company, directly led to the outburst of the American Revolution. In order to understand that movement it is necessary to know something of the nature and diversity of the English colonies in America, and especially how, after a century and a half of "wise and salutary neglect," they became the objects of unwelcome solicitude on the part of the Home Government.

The older English colonies in North America—that is, all except the colonies acquired from France by the treaties of 1713 and 1763, fall naturally into three groups (Table, p. 23; Map, p. 89): (1) the New England colonies, Puritan in origin and sentiment, accustomed to a far greater degree of self-government in their town-meetings and colonial legislatures than was ever dreamt of in the Mother Country; (2) the Middle colonies of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania with its enclave Delaware, consisting mainly of lands captured from the Netherlands and largely settled by Dutch and Germans; and (3) the Southern colonies from Maryland to Georgia, mainly settled by planters who cultivated tobacco, sugar-cane, and other sub-tropical crops with the help of slave labour, and as aristocratic in tone as the New Englanders were democratic. These colonies were not only diverse in origin, but also (as they still are) divergent in interests: they had been slow to act together against the French; and they were now still slower to act together against Great Britain.

400. The Colonies and the Mother Country, 1660-1763.—These colonies stood in somewhat vague relations towards the Mother Country. They had, for the most part, owed their foundation to private enterprise: the Home Government had done little to help them, and had usually taken but little interest in their doings. They were scarcely regarded as integral parts of the State, but rather as outlying properties useful as a market for English manufactures, and as a source of supply of produce which could not be grown at home. Various Navigation Acts passed after the Restoration had limited the industries and commerce of the colonies in the supposed interests of the Mother Country; and the Colonists had shown outward respect for these Acts, while evading them in practice by carrying on a smuggling trade, especially with the neighbouring colonies of Spain.

401. The Question of Imperial Taxation, 1765-1773.—Alarmed at the expense of the Seven Years' War, and realising the reasonableness of getting the Colonies to contribute something towards the cost of their own defence, Grenville passed a *Stamp Act* in 1765, which required Americans to pay fees for the stamping of certain kinds of documents in order that they might be recognised as legally binding. The proceeds were to be used for the maintenance of a colonial military establishment; but this fact did not distract criticism. Representatives of several of the colonies met in Congress at New York to protest against the imposition of internal taxes by a Parliament in which they were not represented. Pitt supported the claims of the Colonists on constitutional grounds: Burke made his maiden speech in Parliament in support of their claims, but on the ground of expediency. To lull the storm, Rockingham repealed the *Stamp Act* in 1766; but at the same time he passed a *Declaratory Act* asserting the right of the British Parliament to "bind the Colonies in all cases whatsoever." In 1767 Townshend took advantage of Chatham's absence through

illness to pass an *American Import Duties Act*, imposing duties on glass, red lead, painters' colours, paper, tea, etc. These duties differed from those which had been imposed by the old Navigation Acts only in being levied not for the regulation of trade but for the raising of revenue; and they were on that ground resented by the Colonists. In 1770 North abolished all the taxes except that on tea—which was retained simply to uphold the rights of the British Parliament. Three years later North hit on a happy idea of enriching both the American Colonies and the East India Company by allowing the latter to carry tea to America without paying the British home duties.

402. North's "Intolerable Acts," 1774.—There was a wide-spread impression among the Colonists that this boon of cheap tea was merely an attempt to bribe them into abandoning their principle, "*No Taxation without Representation.*" Accordingly, in December 1773 a band of Massachusetts citizens boarded some tea-ships lying in Boston harbour and emptied the tea-chests into the sea. This "Boston Tea-Party," coming as it did on the top of many outrages against "law and order," roused the British Government to measures of repression. In the spring of 1774 North passed the measures which the Americans dubbed "The Intolerable Acts." The *Boston Port Act* closed the port of Boston until its inhabitants should compensate the East India Tea Company for the tea; the *Massachusetts Government Act* annulled the charter of the Colony and placed it under martial law; the *Transportation Act* gave British officers charged with murder in Massachusetts the right to demand trial in Britain; and the *Quebec Act* annoyed the Puritan New Englanders by recognising Roman Catholicism as the established religion in Canada, and by including the Ohio Valley within the limits of that province.

403. Lexington and Bunker Hill, 1775.—These measures were promptly met by fresh preparations for resistance in

America. Massachusetts set up a provincial assembly at Concord, near Boston, in the room of its ejected assembly, and organised a force of militia known as "Minute Men." All the Colonies, except Georgia, sent representatives to a "First Continental Congress" at Philadelphia, and expressed their sympathy with Massachusetts in the *Declaration of Rights*, whereby they claimed the rights of representation, self-taxation, free discussion, and local juries. The determined attitude of the Colonists, coupled with the diminution of the Anglo-American trade, caused the Home Government to unbend a little; and early in 1775 North proposed that the British Parliament should relinquish its claims to tax any American colony which would promise to support its own civil and military establishment. But before the news of this proposal had reached America the first battle had been fought.

In April 1775 General Gage, the Governor of Boston, sent a force to destroy ammunition collected at Concord; and on its way back this force was attacked by Colonials at Lexington and driven into Boston with heavy loss. In June the Massachusetts militia occupied some of the high ground commanding Boston on the north side, and were expelled with difficulty after a long day's fight known as the battle of Bunker Hill. In the autumn the Congress presented an *Olive Branch Petition*, which the King refused to receive on the ground that it proceeded from an unlawful assembly.

404. The Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.—The early leaders of American discontent—such as Patrick Henry of Virginia, Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, and even Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania—had not been above suspicion on the score of motive; but George Washington of Virginia, who became commander-in-chief of the "Continental Army" in 1775, stands on the same moral and political level as King Alfred himself. For a long time, however, he was fully occupied with putting his ragged

troops in order; and the earlier aggressive movements of the Americans were conducted by others. In the autumn of 1775, for instance, Richard Montgomery took Montreal and joined Benedict Arnold in an unsuccessful attack on Quebec: this defeat practically decided that the sometime-French colonies in the St. Lawrence Valley were not to join the older English colonies on the eastern littoral. In March 1776 Washington won his first military triumph against the British troops by occupying Dorchester Heights, and thus compelling Sir William Howe, Gage's successor, to evacuate Boston. Howe returned to Halifax to await reinforcements brought by his brother, Admiral Lord Howe; and with these he proceeded in June to establish himself at the mouth of the Hudson. The fact that the new troops consisted largely of Hessians and other German troops hired to serve under the British flag infuriated the Americans in much the same way as their ancestors in England had sometimes been infuriated by the use of "foreign mercenaries." The result of this annoyance—sedulously fanned into flame by Tom Paine's *Common Sense*—was the issue of the *Declaration of Independence* by the Second Continental Congress, July 4, 1776.

405. Party Aspects of the Conflict.—Hitherto the Colonists had been struggling for what they believed to be their rights under the government of George III.: henceforth they claimed to be an independent state. But in all three stages of the conflict—constitutional agitation, civil war, and "foreign war"—the Americans were divided not merely by colonies but also by parties. There were many "loyalists" who, though not always approving of George III.'s policy, believed that the points at issue could be settled amicably: these were known as "Tories." Their more strenuous opponents were known as "Whigs," and were generally supported by the Whigs in Great Britain itself—such as Chatham, Burke, and a brilliant newcomer in politics, Charles James Fox.

406. Burgoyne's Surrender at Saratoga, October 1777.—The British Tories were determined to suppress rebellion, and a grand combination was arranged in 1777. Sir John Burgoyne and other commanders were to march from Canada by various routes and converge on the upper Hudson, where they were to be met by a detachment of Howe's force. The combination failed to work. Howe, who had occupied New York in August 1776, spent the summer of 1777 in occupying Philadelphia; and though he and his colleagues were usually successful against Washington, they had no troops to spare for operations on the Hudson. Consequently Burgoyne, who had advanced southwards *via* Lake Champlain, was surrounded by overwhelming numbers and compelled to surrender at Saratoga (October 1777).

III. The Bourbon Intervention, 1778–1783.

407. Franco-American Alliance, 1778.—Burgoyne's surrender was the great turning-point in the war of the American Revolution, for it immediately led to the intervention of the Bourbon Powers, without whom the Americans could hardly have been successful in maintaining their independence. The French Government, headed by Vergennes, had throughout secretly supported the American insurgents; but early in 1778 it ventured to make an open alliance with them as an independent State. The inevitable result was the outbreak of war between France and Great Britain, in which in 1779 Spain joined. Neither France nor Spain cared a straw for the Americans (though many individual Frenchmen were their enthusiastic partisans), and Spain was naturally unable to sympathise with colonial rebellion; but both powers were eager to punish Great Britain for her successes n the Seven Years' War. They obtained their revenge, but at a cost more ruinous to themselves than to their adversary. The Bourbon intervention diverted the main interest of the

war from land to sea, from America to Europe; and was directly responsible for the rise of serious troubles in India and Ireland.

408. Maritime Operations, 1778-1780.—In 1778 Chatham, while demanding at once reconciliation with the Colonies and vigorous war against the French, swooned in the House of Lords and was borne home to die. His death destroyed the last faint flicker of hope for a conciliation between Great Britain and the Colonies, except on the basis of American independence. But at the outset French intervention did not seem to bring the latter much nearer. It is true that Howe's successor, Sir Henry Clinton, evacuated Philadelphia; but, on the other hand, he started operations in the south by sending a force to occupy Savannah in Georgia, and he defeated the attempt of a Franco-American expedition upon New York. But after all the result of the conflict necessarily depended on the command of the sea; and there the conditions were much more equal than they had been at the close of the Seven Years' War. In July 1778 an English fleet only just held its own in a fight off Ushant; in 1779 a joint French and Spanish fleet swept the Channel unopposed, and Spain began her most determined attempt to recover Gibraltar; but in 1780 Rodney, on his way out to the West Indies, defeated a Spanish fleet off St. Vincent and temporarily relieved Gibraltar. In the capture of outlying possessions in the West Indies and elsewhere France was as successful as Great Britain.

409. Warren Hastings in India, 1773-1782.—The outbreak of war between Great Britain and France added to the many difficulties against which Warren Hastings was struggling manfully in India. Though hampered at every turn by factious opposition in his Council, Hastings had put the administration of Bengal into good order during his five years of peace and was now, during his five years of external struggles, to save British dominion in India from overthrow

by native princes, egged on by France. The desire of the Bombay Government to extend its territory involved it in the First Maráthá War (1778-1782), from which it was extricated only by the generals sent by Hastings across India against the powerful Maráthá princes, Sindhia and Holkar.

At the same time the Madras Government became exposed to the vigorous attacks of Haidar Alí, the powerful Muhammadan ruler of Mysore (1778-1784). This first Mysore War arose partly out of the seizure of the French towns of Pondicherry and Mahé in 1778-1779 (§ 407). Haidar Alí burst into the Carnatic in 1780 and defeated Munro; but he was himself defeated in the battles of Porto Novo and Polilore, 1781, by the veteran Sir Eyre Coote, whom Hastings had sent to the rescue. Fortunately the crisis was passed before the arrival of a French squadron under Suffren, the ablest French admiral of the eighteenth century, who found his skill neutralised by the bull-dog tenacity of the British admiral, Sir Edward Hughes. The long struggle against the French and their native allies had to be maintained without any substantial help from the Home Government; and sheer necessity drove Hastings to those questionable means of raising money which have prevented the undisputed acknowledgment of his greatness.

410. Henry Grattan and the Irish Volunteers, 1779-1782. —The Bourbon intervention also brought the constitutional agitation in Ireland to a climax and gave the agitators the opportunity to have their own way. It was necessary to denude Ireland of troops in order to use them against foreign foes; and in 1779 the British Government authorised the formation of a force of Protestant volunteers for internal defence. The Volunteers supported the demand for the economic reforms which were advocated by Henry Grattan; and as these demands were reasonable in themselves, and were made, in a manner which involved little disrespect to the

Crown, by a legally constituted body that the Crown had no power to resist, they were speedily and fully granted. In 1780 Lord North granted a measure of "Free Trade"—removing restrictions on the woollen industry and commercial intercourse between Ireland and the Colonies which had been imposed in the interests of the British commercial classes. In 1782 North's successor, Rockingham, conceded the demand for legislative autonomy by permitting the Irish Parliament to repeal *Poynings' Law* of 1495, and by causing the British Parliament to repeal its *Declaratory Act* of 1719.

411. The Gordon Riots, 1780.—The relief granted to Ireland did not extend to the disfranchised Roman Catholic majority, nor did it involve any purification of the Irish Parliament. But there was meanwhile going on in Britain itself a determined attempt to alleviate the lot of Roman Catholics and to improve the working of Parliament. In 1778 Savile procured the repeal of the anti-Romanist Act of 1700; but the attempt to pass a similar measure for Scotland led to a widespread agitation. Lord George Gordon put himself at the head of a mob which shouted "No Popery!" and which had London at its mercy for some days in June 1780, until the personal action of George III. quelled the riot. Two months earlier Dunning had carried a resolution in the Commons that "the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." This resolution embodied the opinions of those Whigs, especially Burke, who wanted to reduce the patronage of the Crown, nominally in the interests of "economy" but really in order to lessen the power of the Crown to control Parliament. But when these same Whigs got into office under Rockingham, they contented themselves with passing a very small measure of "Economical Reform."

412. The Armed Neutrality, 1780.—Thus about 1780 Great Britain was struggling under great constitutional difficulties at home, and was only just holding her own in the

maritime conflict with the Bourbons. Owing largely to her conspicuous success in the Seven Years' War, she had no friend abroad; and in 1780 various Powers who were not at war with Great Britain banded together in menacing protest against her use of her maritime supremacy. Russia, Denmark, and Sweden—afterwards joined by other States—formed an "Armed Neutrality of the North" to protect the rights of neutrals to trade in time of war. The leading principles of this league were that neutral ships may sail freely from port to port, even along the coasts of belligerents; that "Free Ships make Free Goods"—*i.e.* that goods on neutral vessels are not liable to seizure, except in the case of contraband of war; and that a blockade to be valid must be effective.* The Armed Neutrality did not proceed beyond statements of general principles, and in particular did not help the United Netherlands in the war which Great Britain declared against them at the end of 1780.

413. Cornwallis's Surrender at Yorktown, October 1781.—Black as the outlook for Great Britain was in 1780, that of the "United States" was still blacker. Lord Cornwallis was using Charleston in the Tory South as a basis of operations which for some time seemed likely to be successful. The aptest illustration of American despair is provided by the "treason" of Benedict Arnold, one of the ablest of the American generals, who made arrangements to desert to the winning side and hand over his important post. West Point, on the Hudson. His plans were discovered, and though he himself escaped, Major André, the British officer who was settling the final details, was captured and hanged as a spy in September 1780. A year later, the British successes which had led to Arnold's treason and André's execution were finally ended by the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown on the

* These technicalities are explained in treatises on International Law, and with special reference to the present case in *The Intermediate Text-Book of English History*, vol. iv., ch. x., § 30.

Chesapeake. He had tried to march northwards to join Clinton, but had been compelled to retire to the apparent safety of the sea-coast. But a powerful French fleet cut him off from the possibility of succour by sea; Washington and Greene hedged him in by land; and his surrender became inevitable.

414. Battle of the Saints, 1782.—"My God! it is all over!" was North's exclamation on hearing the news of Cornwallis's surrender; and, so far as America was concerned, his assertion was perfectly true. But elsewhere British prospects began to brighten soon afterwards. The last serious disaster was the loss of Minorca, which led to North's resignation in March 1782. In April 1782 Rodney and Hood completely defeated the French fleet under de Grasse near the Saints, islands lying between Guadeloupe and Dominica. Five months later Eliott beat off the grand effort of France and Spain to take Gibraltar by a furious three days' bombardment. Also between February 1782 and June 1783 Hughes was holding his own against Suffren in Eastern waters. These victories not only re-established Great Britain as mistress of the seas, but revived the nation's fading belief in itself, and strengthened the hands of the British diplomatists in the negotiations for peace.

415. Peace of Versailles, 1783.—These negotiations were carried on by the various British ministries which came one after another in quick succession during the two years that followed North's resignation in March 1782. The treaties with the United States, France, and Spain were signed in September 1783, during the Coalition Ministry; that with the United Provinces was not signed till May 1784, after the younger Pitt had become firmly established in office. Lack of ministerial continuity did not prevent Great Britain from taking advantage of the mutual differences among her enemies; and the terms were less unfavourable than she could have reasonably expected in 1781. The independence

of the United States was recognised and their boundaries were extended by the cession of British Louisiana; France gained Tobago, Senegal, and increased fishing facilities on the French shore of Newfoundland; and Spain retained her conquests of Minorca and the Floridas. On the other hand Great Britain gained from the Dutch Nagapatnam and the privilege of free navigation and commerce in Dutch East Indian waters. These treaties stood in marked contrast with the *Peace of Paris* twenty years before; and Great Britain seemed to be pulled down from her pride of place. Nevertheless, the events of the next ten years showed that Great Britain was less exhausted than any of her victorious enemies.

CHAPTER X.

PITT'S YEARS OF PEACE, 1783-1793.

A. Personal History of George III. } See Chapter VIII.
B. Contemporary Rulers. }

C. Topics of the Period.

(i) **International** : *relations with*—
(1) France : §§ 416, 417, 423, 424.
(2) Spain : §§ 416, 417, 424.
(3) Prussia : § 424.
(4) Russia : § 424.
(5) United Netherlands : § 424.
(6) United States : §§ 416, 417, 427.

(ii) **Constitutional.**
(1) Ministries : §§ 416-419, 426.
(2) Parliament : §§ 419, 421, 422, 426-428.
(3) Commerce : §§ 420, 423.
(4) Ireland : §§ 417, 423, 426.
(5) India : §§ 418, 421, 425.
(6) Australia : § 425.

I. George III.'s Second Struggle, 1782-1784.

416. Rockingham's Second Ministry, March-June 1782.—On North's resignation in March 1782, George III. was compelled to accept the services of the two main sections of the Whigs—the official Whigs, headed by Rockingham, and the Chathamites, now under the leadership of William Petty, Earl of Shelburne. Rockingham became First Lord of the Treasury; Shelburne and Fox were Secretaries of State; and places were found for Burke and Dunning, now Lord Ashburton. This Ministry, during its short career, opened negotiations with France, "gave Ireland what she wanted in the way in which she seemed to want it" (as Fox described the grant of legislative independence to the Irish Parliament), and passed three measures of "Economical Reform." These three Acts respectively disfranchised revenue officers (who controlled many elections and were absolutely under the thumb of the Government), disabled Government contractors

from membership of the Commons, and abolished several useless offices, such as the Colonial Secretaryship instituted in 1768. The actual practice of the Ministry in dispensing pensions and places was not in accordance with the professed zeal of its members for purity.

417. Shelburne's Ministry, July 1782-February 1783.— When Rockingham died early in July, the King promoted Shelburne to his place. Thereupon Fox, Burke, and Ashburton resigned their posts, for they had special reasons for sharing the general distrust in which Shelburne was held. William Pitt, second son of the Earl of Chatham, became Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, and thereby began his lifelong rivalry with the younger Fox. This Ministry arranged the terms of peace with the "United States," which, however, were not formally signed until after its fall, and completed the concessions to Ireland by passing a *Renunciatory Act*, whereby the British Parliament explicitly abandoned all claim to override the Irish Parliament. After a precarious existence of less than eight months, the Ministry was defeated in the Commons in a debate on the peace by the combined efforts of the followers of Fox and the followers of North. Fox and North had been such acrid opponents in former days that their alliance was commonly denounced as an "unnatural coalition."

418. The Coalition Ministry, April-December 1783.— More than a month elapsed before George III. could bring himself to call Fox and North into his counsels; but their overwhelming strength in the Commons at length obliged him to "swallow the bitter potion." Fox and North became Secretaries of State under the nominal leadership of the Duke of Portland. The Secretariate had been reorganised in 1782, when the old division of its work into Southern and Northern Departments had been superseded by a more logical division into Home Office and Foreign Office. It fell to Fox, as Foreign Secretary, to introduce an *India Bill* which was

meant to amend North's Act of 1773, but which practically transferred the bestowal of Indian offices to the party in power. Lord Thurlow—the "King's Friend" who was Lord Chancellor almost continuously for nearly twenty years (1775-1793), except during the Coalition Ministry—represented the Bill as "taking the diadem off the King's head to set it on that of Mr. Fox." George took this view of the Bill and sent Lord Temple among his fellow peers with a paper declaring that the King would regard voting for the Bill as an act of personal enmity to himself. The Lords therefore rejected the measure, and the King at once dismissed the ministers who had introduced it.

419. Pitt's Parliamentary Struggle, December 1783-March 1784.—George invited Pitt to form an Administration; and as Pitt, despite his cold demeanour, was a man of sanguine temperament, he accepted the offer. The late ministers were at first more amused than annoyed at his presumption. He was only twenty-four years of age, and had had only three years' parliamentary experience; hence the wits made merry over the sight of "a kingdom trusted to a schoolboy's care." The King and the Lords were on his side, but he was hopelessly outnumbered in the Commons, and he could not get any politician of the first rank to serve under him. For three months he carried on almost single-handed a fight in the Commons, and thus revealed his own pluck and resourcefulness and the factiousness of the Opposition—which even threatened to cut off his supplies and to refuse the renewal of the *Mutiny Act*. But, like his father in 1756, he was immensely popular outside the House; and, unlike his father, he resolved to appeal to his supporters by means of a General Election. This new device was a great success; over one hundred and sixty members of the Opposition lost their seats, and were jestingly called "Fox's Martyrs."

II. Pitt as Peace Minister, 1783-1793.

420. Pitt the Younger and Adam Smith.—Pitt remained in office for nearly eighteen years, and was throughout that period continually growing in power. His Ministry was almost equally divided between years of peace and years of war; and it is generally considered that the former period, though less crowded with striking events, was more glorious and successful than the latter period. Unlike his father, he was primarily a financier; and his main object was to set the affairs of his country in order after the strain of the War of American Independence. His ideas were largely drawn from Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, a treatise which had appeared in the year of the *Declaration of Independence* (1776), and had marked the rise of a new system of Economic Policy. The Glasgow Professor had especially urged the removal of governmental restrictions on commerce and industry, had also advocated an entire change in the methods of taxation, and had emphasised the duties rather than the rights of the Government. Pitt applied these ideas so far as they were practicable, and thus helped to equip Great Britain with the material resources necessary to carry on the Great War of the future.

421. The India Act and Warren Hastings, 1784-1788.—Pitt's first measure was an *East India Act*, designed to remedy North's *Regulating Act* of 1773. The Company retained its commercial monopoly; but its political and military administration was subordinated to a new department of the Home Government, called the Board of Control. Pitt's most intimate friend, Henry Dundas, who had drafted the Act, was for eighteen years responsible for administering it as President of the Board of Control. The Act also strengthened the hands of the Governor-General, who was to be a prominent person appointed by the Crown. The first Governor-General under the Act was Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793), who

effected the "Permanent Settlement" of the relations between the cultivators and the State in Bengal, and attempted to abstain from intervention in the politics of the Country Powers. During his term of office there began a prolonged inquiry into the government of his predecessor, Warren Hastings. In the time of stress Hastings had lent British troops to the Nawáb of Oudh for use against the Rohillás, and had adopted extreme measures to extract sums due from Chait Singh, Rájá of Benares, and from the Begams of Oudh. These acts were the chief charges for which he was impeached by Burke and Sheridan before the House of Lords; but the trial, after dragging along for eight years (1788-1796), ended in his acquittal.

422. Parliamentary Reform, 1785.—Pitt inherited his father's dislike of the Whig Oligarchy, and his father's belief that the time had come for broadening the base of the parliamentary system. Burke and his friends merely wanted Economical Reform—*i.e.* to purify the working of the existing system: Pitt at the very outset of his political career had advocated Parliamentary Reform. Wilkes, Richmond, and others had proposed the wholesale disfranchisement of rotten boroughs and a wide extension of the franchise: the Bill which Pitt introduced in 1785 was more moderate in its scope. He proposed to buy out the interests of the proprietors of thirty-six decayed boroughs, giving the seventy-two seats thus set at liberty to the counties and London, and to extend the county franchise. But, for the present, the influence of those who favoured the existing system was greater than that of those who desired changes. Pitt's scheme was rejected; and practically the question slumbered for nearly half a century (§ 488).

423. Commerce and Finance, 1784-1786.—Pitt showed more tenacity of purpose in the field of economic reconstruction than in merely political reform. He put the parliamentary audit of accounts on a more regular footing;

established a Sinking Fund for the reduction of the National Debt; and rearranged the import duties in such a way that the private citizen paid less for commodities, while the State got more money out of the customs-dues. This he did by taking strong measures to repress smuggling, which had come to be thought an almost honourable profession, and at the same time he made it less profitable by reducing the duties on various articles of common consumption, such as tea. In the spirit of Adam Smith, Pitt also tried to remove restrictions on external commerce. His attempt to establish complete equality of trade between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland broke down in 1785, because the merchant interest in the British Parliament insisted on conditions which the Irish Parliament regarded as impugning its legislative independence. But in 1786 Pitt was able to arrange an enlightened commercial treaty with France, which reduced the British duties on French wines, silk, and oil in exchange for the reduction of French duties on British wool, cotton, and iron.

424. The Triple Alliance, 1788.—Pitt's commercial treaty was loudly denounced as truckling to the national enemy; but, as a matter of fact, his desire to turn the peace to good account did not interfere with his desire to prepare for war. The most conspicuous incident in Pitt's foreign policy during his early years was the *Triple Alliance* which he arranged with Prussia and the United Netherlands in 1788-1789. The principal effect of this Treaty was to dissever the United Netherlands from the Bourbon Alliance (§ 412), and thus to check French and Austrian schemes of aggrandisement in the Low Countries, both Dutch and Austrian. Pitt also hoped to use his alliance with Prussia to check the schemes of Austria and Prussia against the weak states of Turkey, Poland, and Sweden; but here Prussia preferred to go her own way. Even in the West the effects of the *Triple Alliance* were short-lived, owing to the outbreak of the

French Revolution; but before its weakness was revealed, the prestige which Pitt had gained by negotiating it stood him in good stead. In 1789-1790 France declined to support the action of Spain in claiming to exclude Great Britain from Nootka Sound; and the result was that Great Britain obtained a foothold on the Pacific Coast of North America, laid the foundations of the Colonies of British Columbia and Vancouver Island, and made possible the future establishment of an all-British route across North America.

425. Botany Bay, 1788.—About the same time Great Britain began to follow up Cook's explorations in the Pacific by establishing a colony in Australia. In 1788 Arthur Philip landed a gang of convicts at Botany Bay, and then, finding the place unsuitable for a settlement, moved into the neighbouring harbour of Port Jackson and there founded the town called Sydney in honour of Pitt's Foreign Secretary. With this unpromising material the Commonwealth of Australia made its start. Transportation to foreign shores had long been adopted as a cheap way of getting rid of criminals; and the loss of the American Colonies had made it necessary to look out for fresh regions where social rubbish might be shot.

The choice for this purpose of Australia rather than West Africa was partly due to the spread of humanitarianism. This movement showed itself also in the strenuous efforts of John Howard (1780-1794) to humanise the brutal prison systems of Europe, in the impeachment of Warren Hastings, and in the efforts of Clarkson and Wilberforce to abolish, or at least mitigate, the horrors of the traffic in negro slaves. Burke and Fox gave an enthusiastic support to this movement; Pitt—being bound by the responsibilities of office, which must always temper ideals by "practical" considerations—was more guarded in his support. In 1788, however, he helped his friend Wilberforce to pass an *Act for the Better Regulation of the Slave Trade.*

426. The Regency Question, 1788-1789.—Towards the end of 1788 the King again became mad; and as no arrangements had been made for the conduct of government in such a case, there was plentiful opportunity for debate between Ministry and Opposition. Fox put forward the view that in case of the King's incapacity, his heir had a "right," or at least a "legal claim," to become Regent with the powers of King; and this view was adopted by the Irish Parliament. Fox was a personal friend of the Prince of Wales, and his constitutional theories were not uninfluenced by his hopes of supplanting Pitt as Prime Minister. Pitt maintained that the person and powers of a Regent depended absolutely on Parliament. Before anything definite was settled the King recovered.

427. The Canada Act and the Libel Act, 1791-1792.—Two notable Acts of Parliament were passed between George III.'s recovery in 1789 and the outbreak of war. The *Canada Act* of 1791 was an attempt to meet the difficulties caused by the immigration of many "United Empire Loyalists" from the revolted colonies into the St. Lawrence Valley. They were mostly Protestants, and were quarrelling with the French Roman Catholic inhabitants; and Pitt sought to stop this quarrel by dividing Canada into two provinces, Quebec or Lower Canada, where the French were most numerous, and Ontario or Upper Canada, which the Protestant immigrants had all to themselves.

Another important measure of this period was Fox's *Libel Act* which restored to juries in libel cases the right to give a general verdict: they might decide not only whether a certain statement had been published, but also whether it amounted to "libel." The year 1792, in which this Act was passed, marked the transition from neutrality to hostility in the average British estimate of the French Revolution (§§ 436, 437).

CENTRAL & WESTERN
EUROPE
at the height of
Napoleon's Power
1812
French Empire
Lands directly under French Rule
States under French Protection
ENGLAND
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
Edinburgh
Dublin
LONDON
Amsterdam
Antwerp
Brussels
Cologne
Helgoland
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Gottland
Poland
PRUSSIA
Berlin
Königsberg
Danzig
Smolensk
RUSSIA
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
SAXONY
Prague
Bohemia
Moravia
Austerlitz
Wagram
Vienna
Pesth
Hungary
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
Galicia
Moldavia
Wallachia
Crimea
Sea of Azof
BLACK SEA
Belgrade
Bosnia
Serbia
Montenegro
Albania
TURKISH DOMINIONS
Constantinople
Broussa
Smyrna
Archipelago
Rhodes
Candia
Cyprus
Paris
Rouen
Metz
Strasburg
Munich
BAVARIA
Chouans
Quiberon
Nantes
Orleans
Rochefort
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Marengo
Turin
Milan
Venice
Genoa
Nice
Marseilles
Corsica
Ajaccio
Rome
Naples
SARDINIA
Cagliari
Palermo
SICILY
Malta (Br)
Tunis
Algiers
Oporto
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Barcelona
Valencia
Minorca
Majorca
Alicante
Cartagena
Cadiz
Trafalgar
Gibraltar (Br)
Gibraltar
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Ionian Is
Corfu
Morea
Salonika
Navarino
Lisbon
Madrid
Zaragoza
Saragossa
Talavera
Ciudad Rodrigo
Badajoz
Seville
Cape St Vincent
Cape Finisterre
Ushant
Brest
St Sebastian
Pyrenees
Vittoria
Bayonne
Corunna
Waterloo
Ligny
Quatre Bras
Namur
Liege
Aix la Chapelle
Coblentz
Mayence
Frankfort
Wurtzburg
Ratisbon
Augsburg
Leipsic
Dresden
Berlin
Posen
Warsaw
GRAND DUCHY OF WARSAW
Brest Litovsk
Minsk
Smolensk
Moscow
R. Dnieper
R. Dniester
R. Bug
R. Danube
R. Don
R. Donetz
R. Volga
R. Oder
R. Elbe
R. Weser
R. Rhine
R. Meuse
R. Seine
R. Loire
R. Garonne
R. Po
R. Tiber
R. Arno
R. Tagus
R. Ebro
R. Guadalquivir
R. Shannon
R. Severn
R. Thames
R. Clyde
R. Forth
R. Tweed
R. Humber
R. Mersey
R. Liffey
R. Lee
R. Foyle
R. Tay
R. Spey
R. Don
R. Dvina
R. Niemen
R. Vistula
R. Oder
R. Elbe
R. Weser
R. Rhine
R. Meuse
R. Seine
R. Loire
R. Garonne
R. Po
R. Tiber
R. Arno
R. Tagus
R. Ebro
R. Guadalquivir
R. Shannon
R. Severn
R. Thames
R. Clyde
R. Forth
R. Tweed
R. Humber
R. Mersey
R. Liffey
R. Lee
R. Foyle
R. Tay
R. Spey

BOOK III.

THE GREAT WAR AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, 1793-1837.

INTRODUCTION.

428. Retrospect, 1756-1793.—During the period covered by our fifth book the first Colonial empire of Great Britain attained its widest limits in the *Treaties of Paris* and *Allahábád*, and then suddenly fell to pieces at the *Peace of Versailles*; while in home politics the power of the Whig Oligarchy reached its zenith during the Seven Years' War, and was gradually overthrown by the efforts of George III. We have seen that that period falls naturally into two periods of war, each undertaken mainly for colonial objects, and each followed by a period of peace, mainly occupied with varied constitutional developments. In the period that lies before us we have again two great wars to study, and again France is the principal antagonist of Great Britain; but these two wars are almost continuous, and they are followed by a constitutional struggle on a much more extensive scale than those of George III.'s reign. Though the two periods have many features in common, yet many deep differences between them arise out of the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution.

429. The French Revolution and Napoleonic Empire, 1789-1815.—The constitutional history of France has differed in many ways from that of Great Britain; and one consequence of this difference was that a number of political and social changes which took place gradually in Great Britain were effected hurriedly and with violence in the few years of

"the French Revolution." The causes of that Revolution may be roughly ranged under three main headings—social, intellectual, and political. There were much wider gaps between the various classes in France than in England; the Clergy and the Nobles were privileged classes; the middle classes had very little political power; and the peasants were still subject to many of the burdens of feudalism without its compensating advantages. During the eighteenth century various philosophical writers, such as Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau, had criticised existing institutions very freely, and had led the discontented classes to believe that changes in methods of government would restore the golden age. Finally, Louis XV. and Louis XVI. had so mismanaged the monarchical power handed down to them by Louis XIV. that the state was on the verge of bankruptcy.

In May 1789 Louis XVI. assembled the States-General, which had not met for a century and three-quarters, in the hope that they would supply him with the money necessary to carry on the government. The representatives of the Third Estate obtained the mastery in the body, turned it into a "National Assembly," and, with the Paris mob at its back, compelled the King to assent to all manner of sweeping changes. In October 1791 the National Assembly was succeeded by a "Legislative Assembly," which plunged into war with Austria; and a year later this gave way to a "National Convention," which set up a Republic and, in the name of "Liberty," made war on Great Britain and other kingdoms. The Republic passed under the control of an executive committee of five members, known as the "Directory," in 1795, and in 1799 under a still smaller committee known as the "Consulate." Napoleon Bonaparte, a Corsican who might have become an Englishman but chose to become a Frenchman, became First Consul; and in 1804 he substituted for the French Republic an Empire, which was twice overthrown by armed Europe in 1814-1815.

430. International Aspects of the Revolutionary Era, 1793-1815.—Thus during the quarter-century beginning in 1789 France underwent various constitutional changes which are interesting in themselves, and which would each demand close analysis in a study of European History. In this place, however, we are concerned with them mainly from the standpoint of British History ; and here we find that Great Britain, though more unfriendly with some of the French Governments than with others, was at war with all those which were in power for the twenty-one years after 1793, and that hostility to France and French ideas caused domestic reforms in Great Britain to come almost to a standstill. During the same period France was engaged in wars with nearly every state in Europe, but her most persistent enemy was Great Britain, which had only one year's peace (1802-1803).

The motives and methods of this long Anglo-French war varied from time to time, but the permanent motive was the old one of colonial and maritime rivalry ; and the result was due to the fact that Great Britain proved invincible on sea, while France after twenty years of military triumphs proved to be not invincible on land. The hostility of France increased the discontent in Ireland which led to the Brito-Irish Union of 1800 (§ 448), directly provoked the extension of British rule in India (§ 450), and involved Great Britain in war with the United States of America (§ 468).

431. Causes of British Success in the Great War.—If we ask how it was that Great Britain was able to keep up the sustained exertions of the Great War, we find the cause first in her insular isolation, which put her beyond the reach of effective attack, secondly in the doggedness of her leaders, who stubbornly refused to despair when they were beaten, and thirdly in her material resources. The strength which Great Britain derived from her geographical advantages and from the way in which her leaders made use of them, will be illustrated in the following narrative (chs. xi., xii.) ; but it

will be more convenient in this place to consider the nature of her material resources. Great Britain suddenly increased in wealth, just at the time when she most needed it, in consequence of a series of economic changes known as "The Industrial Revolution." This label covers three distinguishable sets of data: (1) changes in the methods of agriculture, manufacture, and communication; (2) consequent changes in the structure of society; and (3) the demand, ultimately successful in great part, that British political institutions should be altered to adapt them to the new social conditions.

432. Economic Features of the Industrial Revolution.—Throughout the eighteenth century the processes of British agriculture were being improved, especially in the adoption of a system of rotation of crops, in the improvement of the breeds of sheep and cattle, and in the bringing of larger areas into tillage by the enclosure of the common fields and of the waste which survived the enclosures of the sixteenth century. The general tendency of these changes was to increase the quantity, and raise the quality, of the produce of the soil; and all this was sheer gain for the country. Unfortunately, however, a disproportionate share of the gain was secured by the large landowners, and the useful class of yeomen and small farmers was almost destroyed.

The corresponding improvements in the methods of manufacture, which began to be rapid and general somewhat later than the agrarian changes, had a similar result in benefiting the large capitalist rather than the small artisan; but here the man in a small way of business had a better chance than the small farmer. A number of mechanical inventions—especially the spinning-jenny contrived by James Hargreaves of Blackburn, 1767, and the spinning-frame contrived by Richard Arkwright of Bolton, 1769—cheapened and quickened the output of cotton goods; and these inventions were afterwards applied to the treatment of wool and were accompanied by improvements in the processes of weaving. Meanwhile

the home production of iron was increased by the re-discovery of the art of smelting iron by coal, instead of wood. Power to drive the new machinery was derived at first from running water, later from steam, which was first applied to textile manufactures by James Watt in 1785. The growth of manufactures made necessary improved means for the transport of heavy goods; and this improvement successively took the shape of canals, macadamised roads and steam-worked railways. About three thousand miles of canals were built in Britain by Brindley and others between 1760 and 1800; during the same period and onwards to 1830 many turnpike roads were constructed on which it was possible to run coaches at a net average speed of ten to fifteen miles an hour; and in 1830 the first railway regularly worked by locomotive engines was opened between Liverpool and Manchester. Meanwhile Bell and Symington had started a steam boat on the Clyde in 1812, and seven years later an American vessel, partly driven by steam, crossed the Atlantic.

433. Social Consequences of the Industrial Revolution.— These vast changes, or such of them as were at work prior to the battle of Waterloo, increased the material resources of Great Britain as a State, and so enabled it to bear the burden of the Great War. But the resulting economic benefits were naturally enough not evenly distributed amongst the citizens; and the dislocation caused first by the transition from handicraft to machine production, and afterwards from war conditions to peace conditions, resulted in the widespread social misery and discontent which prevailed after the Great War. In consequence of the agrarian and industrial revolutions a much larger proportion of the population than before was "divorced from the land" and dependent for its livelihood on wages. The substitution of machinery for hand labour both lessened the demand for labour and lowered its rate of remuneration at the very time when a series of bad harvests, combined with the operation of new Corn Laws,

raised the price of food. The condition of the rural labourers was not much better than that of the people who had crowded together in the large towns that had sprung up under the "factory system." Hence during the years following the *Peace of Paris* there were all manner of riots, made sometimes by persons who thought to improve their lot by burning hayricks and breaking machinery, and sometimes by persons who hoped to set things right by political reform. At first the Government, still imbued with its horror of "Revolution," met these disturbances with measures of repression; but gradually a new school of politicians arose who sought to check political discontent by striving to remove its causes (ch. xiii., xiv.).

434. Political Results of the Industrial Revolution.—The politicians who desired to meet discontent not with repression but with reform were drawn partly from the ranks of the more progressive section of the Whig party and of the less rigid section of the Tories, and they assumed the continental name of "Liberals." Practically they took up the task which the younger Pitt had been compelled to drop on the outbreak of the French Revolutionary War, and which had become much more pressing and complicated with the lapse of time. They had to adjust British institutions to the changed conditions of society, and especially to the rapid growth of the population, which had increased from about nine millions at the first census in 1801 to nearly fourteen millions in 1831. The Industrial Revolution had brought into existence an industrial population which, in both its higher and its lower ranges, lay almost wholly outside the existing constitution of Church and State; and the main object of the measures passed during the "Epoch of Reform" (about 1828-1837) was to admit these new classes to the position of active citizens.

The measures adopted for this purpose fell into three main groups: (1) those which formally abolished various

civil disabilities under which persons who did not belong to the established churches in the British Isles had been placed in past times (ch. xiii.); (2) those which adapted the parliamentary constitution to the new state of things; and (3) those that provided better opportunities and conditions of life for various classes of people who had hitherto been ignored or treated in ways now regarded as mistaken (ch. xiv.). The repeal of the *Test Act* and *Corporation Act* in 1828 and the passing of the *Roman Catholic Relief Act* in 1829 come under the first heading; the *Reform Acts* of 1832 come under the second heading; and the third heading includes such various measures as provided for the Abolition of Slavery, the amelioration of life in factories, the amendment of the Poor Law, and the establishment of municipal government on new principles.

Such far-reaching changes as those we have mentioned were not made without great constitutional struggles, nor were they so successful as their promoters had hoped; but on the whole they tended to satisfy the moral principle formulated by Bentham, one of the most sanguine of the reformers, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

435. The Rise of Nationalities.—The period which witnessed these domestic changes, mostly in direct consequence of the Industrial Revolution, was marked also by new problems in the foreign and colonial relations of Britain, which may largely be ascribed to the French Revolution. The events of the period 1789-1815 imbued the leading statesmen of Europe with an abiding fear of "revolution," while they encouraged the desires of their subjects for political change. Hence there arose the movements known as *Nationalism*—the idea that every "state" ought to correspond to a "nation"—and *Liberalism*—the idea that government in each state ought to be conducted in accordance with the wishes of the governed, as expressed in some representative assembly. In opposition to these movements the rulers

sometimes met in congress to take joint measures against disturbances; and for many years the leading spirit in these conferences was the Austrian statesman Metternich. Gradually Great Britain dissociated herself from the continental monarchies and adopted an attitude of "non-intervention." This policy sometimes took the shape of preventing other states from interfering in the affairs of their neighbours, as when Canning prevented the European Powers from helping Spain to reconquer her revolted colonies in America, or when he prevented Egypt from helping Turkey to conquer the revolted Greeks. There was no sharp break in either the domestic or the foreign policy of Great Britain: in each department there was a tendency to abandon the attitude of fear of "reform," resulting in repression and sympathy with reaction, and to regard reform as inevitable at home and not necessarily reprehensible abroad. The reforming activity which marked the restoration of the Whigs to power in William IV.'s reign extended to India and to the Colonies. The abolition of slavery caused much discontent in the West Indies, where the planters could not adapt themselves to the new conditions of labour, and in South Africa, where there began those trekkings of the Boers which gave Great Britain much trouble during the Victorian Age.

CHAPTER XI.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, 1793-1802.

A. Personal History of George III. : see Chapter VIII.

B. Contemporary Rulers (1789-1820).

Papacy.	Austria.	Prussia.	France.	Spain.	Sweden.	Russia.
Pius VI. (1775)	Joseph II.	Frederick William II. (1786)	Louis XVI. (1774-1792)	Charles IV. (1788)	Gustavus III. (1771)	Katharine II. (1762)
	H.R.E. (1765)		*Republic*, 1792	Ferdinand VII. (1808-1833) (Joseph Bonaparte Rival, 1808-1813)	Gustavus IV. (1792)	Paul I. (1796)
	Leopold II.		*Directory*, 1795		Charles XIII. (1809)	Alexander I. (1801-1825)
	H.R.E. (1790)		*Consulate*, 1799			
	Francis II.		*Empire*, 1804			
Pius VII. (1800-1823)	H.R.E. (1792-1806)	Frederick William III. (1797-1840)			Charles XIV. *Bernadotte* (1818-1844)	
	[= Francis I. "Emperor of Austria" (1804-1835)]		Louis XVIII. (1814-1824)			

C. Topics of the Period.

(i) **International** : *relations with*—

(1) France : §§ 436-446, 447, 449.
(2) Spain : §§ 437, 439, 446.
(3) Austria : §§ 437, 440, 443.
(4) Prussia : §§ 437, 439.
(5) The Netherlands : §§ 437, 439, 441, 443, 446.
(6) Denmark : §§ 444, 445.

(ii) **Constitutional.**

(1) Parties : §§ 436, 438, 445.
(2) Repression : §§ 436, 438, 439.
(3) Finance : § 441.
(4) Mutinies and Rebellion : §§ 441, 442, 447.
(5) Ireland : §§ 439, 440, 447, 448.
(6) India : §§ 442, 445, 449, 450.

I. The First Coalition, 1793-1797.

436. British Opinion on the French Revolution.—The French Revolution affected the political thought of Great Britain in various ways. Some rejoiced to see the ancient enemy apparently destroying herself; some were pleased to notice that a neighbour was striving to get a constitution like our own; those who had grievances gathered from the course

of the French Revolution hints as to methods of securing remedies; and those who were tolerably content with the existing state of things saw in the events across the Channel only a case of "liberty degenerating into licence." Roughly speaking, these and other British attitudes resolved themselves into two—sympathy with, and opposition to, the Revolution abroad and constitutional change at home; and the various political groups ranged themselves into two distinct parties on these lines. Burke's great work, *Reflections on the French Revolution*, which was written in 1790, first began to turn the balance of opinion to hostility: it had much more weight than the rejoinders, Tom Paine's *The Rights of Man* and Sir James Mackintosh's *Vindiciae Gallicae*.

A minority of the Whigs, headed by Fox, and including Erskine, Grey, and others, took a less unfavourable view of the Revolution. Pitt long maintained the attitude of neutrality suited to his responsible position; but the increasing violence of the Revolutionists during the year 1792, especially after the Girondin party obtained power in the National Convention, gradually drove him to adopt Burke's views. In May 1792 the Government by Proclamation authorised the magistrates to suppress seditious writings; and in December a second Proclamation called out the Militia to suppress the prevalent spirit of tumult and disorder. Early in 1793 Parliament passed an *Alien Act*, intended to prevent the landing of revolutionaries, and a *Traitorous Correspondence Act*, which made unauthorised intercourse with France into treason.

437. Outbreak of the Anglo-French War, 1793.—Meanwhile France had in 1792 declared war against Austria and Prussia; and, as those Powers were busy with a "second partition" of Poland, France was at first successful. Inebriated with these early triumphs, the National Convention abolished the French Monarchy and proclaimed a Republic in October 1792. In November, having conquered

the Austrian Netherlands, it declared the Scheldt open to the trade of all nations, and finally it issued a decree offering aid to any "people" struggling to free itself from the "tyranny" of any "government"—other than that of the French Republic. Then, in January 1793, it sent "Louis Capet," formerly King Louis XVI., to the guillotine. Pitt at once sent the French Ambassador his passports; and in February France replied by a declaration of war against Great Britain and the United Provinces. The formal cause of the war was the fact that the opening of the Scheldt was a breach of many treaties from the *Peace of Westfalia* onwards.

Great Britain and the United Provinces at once joined Sardinia, Spain, Portugal, Austria, and Prussia against France, and for a moment this coalition was successful. But in July 1793 the determined Jacobin party overthrew the more moderate Girondins and persuaded the French Convention to entrust the executive power to a vigorous "Committee of Public Safety." In the autumn French armies drove the Austrians out of the Southern Netherlands and Alsace, put down Royalist risings in La Vendée and elsewhere, forced the Duke of York to raise the siege of Dunkirk, and compelled Hood to evacuate Toulon, which had been held for some months for the French Royalists.

438. British Ministerial Changes and Maritime Successes, 1794.—During the crisis of 1793 the Committee of Public Safety, including Robespierre, Danton, Marat, and other republican zealots, had struck wildly at all suspected enemies of the Republic; and their period of vigilance is known as the "Reign of Terror." Having destroyed the internal opponents of the Republic and driven back its external foes, their task was achieved; and in July 1794 France returned to a more normal kind of government. Meanwhile the fear of the establishment of a similar "Reign of Terror" in Great Britain had been dominating the governing classes.

In 1794 Lord Braxfield, "the Scottish Jeffreys," had sentenced a young lawyer to no less than fourteen years' transportation merely for advocating universal suffrage and annual parliaments; in May 1794 Parliament had armed Government officials with greater power of arrest and imprisonment by suspending the *Habeas Corpus Act*; and in June the "Old Whigs," who agreed rather with Burke than with Fox, formally went over to Pitt's side, their leader, the Duke of Portland, becoming Home Secretary. Portland's predecessor, Dundas, was placed in charge of a new department specially created in view of the circumstances of the time—the Secretaryship of War. But even before this Great Britain had begun to compensate by her victories at sea for the defeats of her allies by land. On the "Glorious First of June" Lord Howe defeated a French fleet off Ushant; and before the end of the year other fleets had occupied various French islands in the West Indies, and even helped the Corsican patriot, Paoli, to throw off the yoke of France for a time.

439. Treaties of Basel and the Directory, 1795.—The year 1795 abounds in illustrations of the burdensome nature of the French War. Great Britain lost three of her allies and was herself troubled by much internal discontent. Early in the year France conquered the United Provinces and erected them into a "Batavian Republic" on the French model, and under French control. In April and July respectively Prussia and Spain entered into *Treaties of Basel* with the French Republic: the former in order to be free to attend to the third and final partition of Poland, the latter out of sheer feebleness. Great Britain was able to seize various Dutch colonies, especially Ceylon and Cape Colony, but her expedition to Quiberon Bay in aid of the French Royalists was a disastrous failure. Owing to bad harvests, and also to the working of economic causes, the people were starving and seething with discontent. In order to feed the hungry, the Justices of the

Peace in Speenhamland, a district of Berkshire, started the practice of supplementing wages by doles from the rates; and this demoralising practice became general throughout the country. In order to have additional powers to repress the discontent which arose largely out of hunger, the Government passed the *Treasonable Practices Act* and the *Seditious Meetings Act*, making it treasonable to advocate or discuss the desirability of reform in Church or State. Early in the year the recall of Lord Fitz-William, the popular Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, prepared the way for the conversion of Irish discontent into rebellion.

440. Pitt's Overtures for Peace, 1796.—The Directory established in October 1795 seemed so likely to give France a stable government that in 1796 Pitt twice opened negotiations for peace; but as he declined to leave France in possession of the Netherlands, the negotiations fell through. This year witnessed the recovery of Corsica by France, and an unsuccessful attempt to land a French force in Ireland in support of the United Irishmen (§ 447). But the most notable event in the year was the French campaign in North Italy, whereby Napoleon Bonaparte made his reputation as a general, and, after a series of victories, compelled Austria to make peace. The terms were virtually settled in April 1797, but the definitive *Treaty of Campo-Formio* was not signed till October. With the stolen property of the Venetian territory Bonaparte bribed Austria to surrender all Germany west of the Rhine to France, and to recognise the erection of Piedmont and Lombardy into a "Cisalpine Republic."

441. St. Vincent and Camperdown, 1797.—The Directory resolved to follow up its successful attack on Austria by an onslaught on Great Britain, the last remaining ally of Austria. Its first attempt—the landing of a small French force in Pembrokeshire, in January 1797—was ridiculous, and was easily defeated; but it then planned operations

on a larger scale, intending to make use of the Spanish and Dutch fleets. Great Britain seemed to be in a perilous position. In February Pitt saved the Bank of England from bankruptcy only by authorising it to suspend cash payments, that is to refuse to give money in exchange for its notes. A little later (April-June) formidable mutinies broke out in the Navy. The grievances of the fleet at Spithead—the badness of the food supplied, the low rate of wages, and the cruelty of the officers—were speedily put right by the popular Admiral, Lord Howe. The mutineers at the Nore, headed by Parker, were infected with "Jacobinical" ideas, and wanted to conduct naval operations by mass-meeting. They were gradually brought to submission and their ringleaders were executed. Before these mutinies began Sir John Jervis and Horatio Nelson—who had previously done good service in Corsica—routed a Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent (February 14); and after it was over, Duncan defeated the Dutch fleet, which he had been blockading in the Texel, off Camperdown (October 11). These naval victories, won under exceptional difficulties and against great numerical odds, saved Great Britain from sharing the humiliation of her Austrian ally.

II. The Second Coalition, 1798-1802.

442. Bonaparte's Eastern Expedition, 1798.—In 1798 Great Britain stood absolutely alone, and though her prospects were brighter than they had been the previous year, they were still gloomy. Her greatest danger was the Irish discontent which in this year flared up into a short-lived rebellion (§ 447). The Directory prepared to help this rebellion by sending expeditions not only to Ireland, but also against England. Bonaparte, however, who was placed in command of the "army of England," persuaded the Directory, whom he had recently saved from overthrow, to let him

try his fortune elsewhere, His imaginative temperament drew him towards the East, and he thought it possible to establish a French dominion in Egypt and Syria, and thence to conquer India and Turkey. Accordingly in May he sailed from Toulon, and, taking Malta from the Knights of St. John, made himself master of Egypt by the Battle of the Pyramids in July. But during the night of August 1 Nelson destroyed his fleet in Aboukir Bay, near the western mouth of the Nile; and in the following spring Sir Sidney Smith helped to beat him back from Acre. His visionary enterprise thus failed utterly, but not without leading to important consequences in Europe and India (§§ 443, 449).

443. Formation of the Second Coalition, 1799.—Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt and Syria offended the Tsar Paul (who had adopted the view that Russia was the natural heir to all the Turkish dominions); and the increasing weakness of the Directory encouraged Austria and Naples to join Britain and Russia in another coalition against France. The Coalition was not long successful. Nelson was unable to maintain the Bourbon King of Naples and Sicily in his continental dominions; the Duke of York again failed in the Low Countries, and was compelled to withdraw his troops by the *Capitulation of Alkmaar*; and though Austria was for a time successful against France in North Italy, the Russian generals Suvórov and Korsákov failed to hold Switzerland. Early in November Bonaparte, who had deserted his army in Egypt, overthrew the Directory in the revolution of 18 Brumaire (the date in the fanciful Republican Calendar corresponding to November 10), and established himself in authority under the title of First Consul. This was the beginning of the military despotism in which, as Burke had long before prophesied, the aspirations of the French Revolution were destined to culminate.

444. Second Armed Neutrality, 1800.—Bonaparte's accession to power speedily resulted in the defeat of Austria and

in the detachment of Russia from the Coalition. In the spring of 1800 Bonaparte himself crossed the St. Bernard Pass and in June defeated the Austrian army at Marengo. In December Moreau achieved a still greater victory over the Austrians at Hohenlinden, in Bavaria. Meanwhile Russia had been growing slack in her adhesion to the Coalition, and was finally estranged when Malta passed from French to British control in September 1800. Bonaparte worked on the feelings of the Tsar Paul, and persuaded him to revive the Armed Neutrality of 1780 on behalf of the maritime rights of neutrals.

445. Resignation of Pitt, 1801.—The rival leagues against France and Great Britain fell to pieces in the year 1801. In February Austria came to terms with France in the *Treaty of Lunéville*, and Pitt resigned office because he was not allowed to round off his union between Great Britain and Ireland by the promised measure of Roman Catholic Emancipation. In April Sir Hyde Parker and Lord Nelson struck a blow at the Armed Neutrality by the "Battle of the Baltic" in Copenhagen Roads, compelling Denmark to give up her fleet. Shortly afterwards, following the murder of the Tsar Paul, Russia detached herself from co-operation with France. In June Great Britain made considerable modifications in her "Right of Search," and so broke up the Armed Neutrality. In August the remnants of the French army in Egypt, which had already been defeated at Alexandria in March by Sir Ralph Abercromby, surrendered to an Anglo-Indian force. The general result of these events was to show that France could do nothing effective against the sea-power of Great Britain, and that Great Britain could do nothing effective against the military power of France.

446. Peace of Amiens, March 1802.—The consequence of this, coupled with the desire of the new Addington Ministry for peace, and with Bonaparte's desire to gain leisure for organising the French navy for his great colonial schemes,

was that Great Britain and France came to terms which practically recognised that this struggle had been a drawn battle. France agreed to evacuate Naples and the Papal States, to acknowledge the independence of the Ionian Islands (formerly belonging to Venice), and to recognise the claims of Turkey to Egypt; while Great Britain agreed that its king should drop the empty title of King of France held since Edward III.'s days, promised, on certain conditions, to re-establish the Knights of St. John in possession of Malta, and restored all conquests to France and her allies, except the Dutch colony of Ceylon and the Spanish island of Trinidad. "It was," said a British onlooker, "a peace which everyone would be glad of, and which nobody would be proud of."

III. India and Ireland, 1789-1805.

447. The United Irishmen and the Ninety-Eight, 1791-1798.—The French Revolution had not only involved Great Britain in a great maritime war, and enabled Pitt to build up a powerful Tory party devoted to the maintenance of the existing British Constitution against all manner of "Jacobinism," but had also led to serious difficulties in Ireland and in India. In Ireland the legislative autonomy established in 1782 had not worked very well, either from a British or from an Irish point of view. The Irish Parliament was just as far from being representative of the nation as was the British Parliament, and it had not the same amount of control over the administration. Hence there arose demands for Parliamentary Reform and Roman Catholic Emancipation; and these were at first the chief aspirations of the "Society of United Irishmen," which was founded by Wolfe Tone and Hamilton Rowan in 1791. They were not alone in bidding for the support of the Irish Roman Catholics. In 1793 Pitt pressed through the Irish Parliament measures

which abolished restrictions on the education and worship of Roman Catholics and re-admitted them to the parliamentary suffrage (§ 325), though not to seats in Parliament. Two years later Lord Fitz-William was sent over to Ireland to make further concessions; but hasty action on his part caused his immediate recall. This led directly to the revival of the United Irishmen, no longer on a national basis, but pledged to alliance with the Irish Romanists and the French Republicans. Pitt, on the other hand, won over the Roman Catholic gentry and the Protestant minority. The great French expedition under Hoche was dispersed by storms in 1796 and achieved nothing; then before another expedition could start, the Government, with the help of the Protestant Yeomanry, had disarmed the Roman Catholics in most parts of Ireland. In the summer of 1798, however, a rebellion broke out in Wexford, which was crushed by Lake in a fight round Vinegar Hill, in Wicklow (June). When the rebellion was suppressed Humbert landed a French force at Killala, and routed Lake in the "Castlebar Races," but he soon had to surrender to Cornwallis, the Lord-Lieutenant.

448. The Brito-Irish Union, 1800.—The bitterness of Irish factions had disgusted the better kind of British officials—such as Abercromby and Cornwallis—who had to deal with Ireland during these years; and their representations confirmed Pitt in his belief that the only way out of the difficulty was to adopt the expedient of a legislative union. Pitt laid down the terms, and Lord Castlereagh, Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, succeeded in arranging with the Irish borough-mongers for their acceptance by the Irish Parliament. The *Act of Union* was passed by both Parliaments in 1800, and came into force on the first day of the following year. It provided that the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland should form a united Kingdom, having a single Parliament in which Ireland should be represented by four spiritual lords, twenty-eight temporal lords, and

one hundred commoners; that the established churches of England and Ireland should also be united; and that Ireland should be admitted to complete commercial equality with Great Britain, and should contribute two-fifteenths of the Revenue of the United Kingdom. The Irish Union differed from the Scottish Union of 1707 in several respects, and especially in not containing securities for the religion of the majority of the Irish population. When Pitt introduced these securities in a supplementary measure he was thwarted by George and compelled to resign in February 1801.

449. Third and Fourth Mysore Wars, 1790-1799.—The year of the Irish Rebellion was also the year of Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt; and this latter fact had a great influence on the Indian policy of Richard Wellesley, Earl of Mornington, who became Governor-General in that year. His two predecessors—Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793) and Sir John Shore (1793-1798)—had done their best to comply with orders from home to abstain from intervention in native affairs. Cornwallis, it is true, had been constrained to take steps against Tipú Sáhib, who had succeeded Haidar Alí as Sultán of Mysore in 1784; and the result of this Third Mysore War (1790-1792) had been the defeat of Tipú and the division of half his territory among the Company, the Nizám, and Maráthás. But Shore had permitted the Maráthás to subject to tribute the Nizám of Haidarábád, the oldest native ally of the East India Company. Mornington held that the near approach of Bonaparte, and the presence of many French agents in India, made this policy of non-intervention no longer safe; he therefore resolved to make the Company the Paramount Power in India.

With this object he required the Country Powers to cease making war on one another, and to receive and pay for the protection of a body of British troops. The Nizám at once accepted these conditions, but Tipú Sáhib—who had had himself enrolled in a Jacobin club in Paris as "Citoyen

Tippou"—declined to enter into a "subsidiary treaty." The result was a short war, ended in May 1799 by the storming of Seringapatam. Tipú died in the fight; and his dominions were assigned partly to a member of the old Hindu line of Rájás, and partly to the Company and its allies. For these services Mornington was created Marquess Wellesley.

450. Second Maráthá War, 1803-1804.—In the years 1800-1802 Wellesley annexed Tanjore, the Carnatic, Rohilkhand, and the Doáb, and entered into subsidiary treaties with the Peshwá of Poona, the head of the Maráthá Confederacy, and with the Gaekwar of Baroda. But the other Maráthá chiefs held aloof; and Wellesley decided to break their restless energy. In 1803 Wellesley's brother Arthur, afterwards famous as the Duke of Wellington, defeated Sindhia's troops in the battles of Assaye and Argáum, and overran the upper Deccan; while further north Lake won the battle of Laswári, and Harcourt defeated the Bhonsla of Nagpur and occupied Orissa. In 1804 Lake compelled Holkar to come to terms. The submission of the Maráthás, the most warlike of the native Powers in India, practically made the whole of India, outside Rájputána and the Indus Valley, directly or indirectly subject to the East India Company. Wellesley's activity was not approved of at home, and he was recalled in 1805, but his work remained (Map, p. 202).

SPAIN
AND
PORTUGAL
English Miles
0 30 60
FRANCE
ASTURIAS
Cantabrian Mountains
CANTABRIA
BISCAY
GUIPUZCOA
NAVARRE
Pyrenees Mountains
CALICIA
LEON
OLD CASTILE
TRAS OS MONTES
ARAGON
CATALONIA
BARCELONA
Oporto
Salamanca
NEW CASTILE
Madrid
Toledo
Alcantara
ESTREMADURA
Ciudad Real
LA MANCHA
VALENCIA
MURCIA
Ivica
MAJORCA
Palma
Badajos
Olivenza
Valverde
Villa Franca
Sa Morena
Alicante
Cordova
ANDALUSIA
Sierra Nevada
Cartagena
Sevilla
Malaga
Cadiz
Gibraltar
Tarifa
Str. of Gibraltar
ALGARVES
C. St Vincent
PORTUGAL
Zaragoza
Tarragona
Tortosa
Lisbon
Santander
Bilboa
Toulouse
Bayonne
S. Sebastian
Orthez
Coruna
Ferrol
Vigo
Orense
Astorga
Leon
Burgos
Palencia
Valladolid
Zamora
Toro
Aveiro
Coimbra
Alcantara
Plasencia
Guadiana
Elvas
Olivenza
Albuera
Valverde
Villa Franca
Beja
Evora
Setuval
Lisbon
Tagus
Douro
Ebro
Segre
Guadalquivir
Guadiana
Xenil
Segura
Xucar
Turia
Mijares
Alicante
Carthagena
Gibraltar
Tarifa
Malaga
Cadiz
Sevilla
Cordova
Beyren
Ciudad Real
Toledo
Madrid
Talavera
Aranjuez
Guadalajara
Sierra de Guadarrama
Segovia
Fuenterrabia
Pamplona
Tudela
Logrono
Burgos
Palencia
Leon
Astorga
Orense
Vigo
Coruna
Ferrol
Santander
Bilboa
Bayonne
S. Sebastian
Orthez
Toulouse
Lerida
Tortosa
Tarragona
Barcelona
Gerona
Figueras
Perpignan
Narbonne
Carcassone
Montpellier
Nismes
Arles
Marseilles
Nice
Genoa
Corsica
Sardinia
Majorca
Palma
Iviza
Algiers
Oran
Tangier
Ceuta
Gibraltar
Tarifa
Str. of Gibraltar
WATER
10 8 6 4 2 0 2
42
40
38
36

CHAPTER XII.

THE NAPOLEONIC WAR, 1803-1815.

A. Personal History of George III. : see Chapter VIII.
B. Contemporary Rulers : see Chapter XI.

C. Topics of the Period.

(i) **International** : *relations with*—
(1) France : §§ 451, 452, 454-465, 468-473.
(2) Spain : §§ 452, 454, 457, 462-466, 468, 473.
(3) Austria : §§ 454, 455, 458, 463, 468, 470, 473.
(4) Prussia : §§ 458, 460, 468, 470, 473.
(5) Denmark : §§ 460, 461, 473.
(6) Russia : §§ 454, 455, 460, 468, 470, 473.
(7) United States : §§ 452, 459, 467.

(ii) **Constitutional.**
(1) Ministries : §§ 453, 456, 461, 464, 466.
(2) Parliament : §§ 456, 466.
(3) Emancipation : §§ 453, 456, 466.
(4) Regency : § 466.
(5) Ireland : § 453.
(6) Colonies : §§ 457, 473.

I. Napoleon's Maritime Attack, 1803-1805.

451. General Features of the Napoleonic Period.—The *Peace of Amiens* lasted little more than a year, and was succeeded by a war still more arduous and protracted than that in which Great Britain had been engaged since 1793. As before, the dominant fact in the international situation was the maritime supremacy of Great Britain, which saved her from sharing the fate of her allies. Nevertheless, in other respects, the Napoleonic War differed in character from the Revolutionary War. On the one side, France was no longer heading a crusade on behalf of republican ideals, but was simply one of the instruments wielded by a powerful personality for the creation of a world-empire. On the other side, Great Britain soon lost the services of Pitt, her greatest

statesman, and of Nelson, her greatest admiral; and none of their successors, though often men of ability, attained the same pre-eminence. Ultimately, too, Napoleon's imperial system became so oppressive as to arouse national resistances, and the peoples of Europe proved more powerful opponents than their governments had been. Thus, about 1807, the character of the war changed; and British operations became increasingly military and aggressive, whereas up to then they had been rather naval and defensive. The comparative safety of Great Britain reacted on home politics, and destroyed the need for the repressive measures of the Georgian Dictatorship.

452. Breach of the Peace of Amiens, 1803.—In 1802 Bonaparte was made First Consul for life and thereupon assumed the style of Napoleon; in 1804 he received the more dignified title of "Emperor of the French." He not only reconstructed the political system of France on lines which, in the main, proved permanent, but also prepared to make her mistress of the whole world. His schemes ultimately threatened the independence not only of Great Britain but of all other States; and though their full extent was not known, his annexations in Switzerland and north Italy during the peace which followed the treaties of Lunéville and Amiens caused general alarm. Great Britain made the "aggressions" of Napoleon a pretext for refusing to fulfil her treaty-obligations to evacuate Malta, fearing lest it should be seized by Napoleon; and resented the endeavours of Napoleon to throw impediments in the way of her commerce in the countries under his control. The continuance of peace was essential for Napoleon to make adequate preparations for carrying out his vast designs; but his contempt for the Addington Ministry made him imagine that it would not attack him whatever he did. In May 1803, however, Great Britain declared war; and Napoleon at once retorted by seizing some ten thousand British travellers in his dominions

(whom he kept captive till the end of the war), and by renewing his preparations for the invasion of England. Henceforth a determination to overthrow Great Britain became his ruling passion; and in 1803 he made a bid for allies in this policy by selling Louisiana (recently acquired from Spain) to the United States of America.

453. Pitt Succeeds Addington, 1804.—In 1803 Napoleon tried to stir Ireland into rebellion against the Union; but the projected national rising got no further than a riot in Dublin, ending in the capture and execution of Robert Emmett. This rising and Napoleon's vast preparations at Boulogne for an invasion of England itself aroused great excitement in Britain; and the Addington Ministry showed much energy in building blockhouses along the coast, and in raising hosts of volunteers "for defence and not defiance." But there was no general confidence in Addington; and in May 1804 he gave place to Pitt—whom Canning had well called "the pilot that weathered the storm." In taking office again, Pitt promised not to raise the question of Roman Catholic Emancipation and tried to secure a broad-bottomed ministry, which should really represent the union of all groups of politicians against France. But his previous Foreign Secretary, Lord Grenville, would not take office without Fox, and Fox remained intolerable to the King. Pitt was therefore compelled to choose his colleagues exclusively from his old supporters, the Tories, and he naturally fell back on his old policy of forming a European coalition against France.

454. Battle of Trafalgar, October 21, 1805.—It was not till the spring of 1805 that Pitt was able to arrange his "third coalition," his allies this time being Austria, Russia, and Sweden; but before that time the Emperor Napoleon had persuaded Spain to declare war on Great Britain, and had matured his plans for an invasion on a great scale. The fleets on which Napoleon depended were, however, shut up in Toulon, Cadiz, Ferrol, Rochefort, and Brest by Nelson and

his colleagues. Napoleon hoped that some of them might break the blockade, draw away the British fleets to the West Indies, and thence returning overwhelm the British Channel Fleet and cover the crossing from Boulogne.

In March 1805 Villeneuve sailed from Toulon for Martinique, picked up some ships, eluded Nelson's chase, and was back off the coast of Spain early in July. Then Sir Robert Calder failed to stop him in a battle off Cape Finisterre, and Napoleon confidently expected him at Boulogne in a few days. But Villeneuve retreated to Cadiz, and Napoleon, disgusted and impatient, turned his energies elsewhere. Two months elapsed before the Franco-Spanish fleet ventured out of harbour; and then, on October 21, eighteen out of their thirty-three ships were taken or destroyed by Nelson and Collingwood, in command of twenty-seven sail, off Cape Trafalgar. Nelson was killed in the battle, but his life-work was achieved. It was not his victory which frustrated the intended invasion of 1805; but by annihilating both the Spanish and the French navies it made similar attempts impossible in the near future. "England," said Pitt in November 1805, "has saved herself by her courage, and will save Europe by her example."

455. Battle of Austerlitz, December 2, 1805.—Napoleon had changed his plans on learning Villeneuve's retreat, and turned his "Army of England" against his Continental enemies. Here he was completely successful. Prussia was timidly hesitating between France and Austria, and Russia was still marching her troops westwards, when the Austrian general Mack was forced to surrender with the whole of his army at Ulm (October). Napoleon defeated the rest of the Austrian forces, and also the Russian army which had joined them, at Austerlitz near Vienna, December 2. The Third Coalition was shattered: Austria, in the *Treaty of Pressburg*, December, ceded Tirol to Bavaria, and her Italian lands to France, in order to save her existence. Pitt

is said to have expressed his sense of the greatness of the disaster in the words: "Roll up that map of Europe—it will not be wanted for ten years."

456. Death of Pitt and Fox, 1806.—In January 1806 Pitt died, prematurely worn out by his continuous labours and overwhelmed by the disaster of Austerlitz. His last days had also been clouded by the impeachment of his old friend Dundas, Viscount Melville, for malversation as Treasurer of the Navy: it was the last instance of impeachment, and it ended in Melville's acquittal. On Pitt's death, a combined administration such as Pitt himself had desired was formed, and became known as "The Ministry of All the Talents." Lord Grenville, the First Lord of the Treasury, represented the Old Whigs of Burke's school; Fox, the Foreign Secretary, and Erskine, the Lord Chancellor, represented the New Whigs; and Addington, now Lord Sidmouth, represented the "King's Friends."

The Ministry, notwithstanding all its "talents," was short-lived. Fox tried to arrange peace, but before his death in September he discovered that Napoleon was using negotiations simply to gain time for his Continental measures. The humanitarian sympathies of some of its members was shown in the promotion of a *Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.* Before that Bill became law, the Ministry had been shipwrecked on the question of Roman Catholic Emancipation. Grenville introduced a measure giving to Roman Catholics a standing in the British Army similar to that which they had had in the Irish Army before the Union. George III. persuaded his ministers to drop the Bill and also asked them to promise not to renew the subject. On their refusal to make such a pledge, he dismissed them, and deliberately took the opinion of his subjects by means of a General Election. As in 1784, he obtained a large majority.

457. Transmarine Expeditions of the Talents Ministry, 1806-1807.—Abroad the Talents Ministry displayed a feverish

activity which produced practically no results. In the summer of 1806 they sent an expedition to Italy to help a Calabrian insurrection against Joseph Bonaparte, whom Napoleon had made King of Naples; but the enterprise had to be abandoned soon after Sir John Stuart's victory at Maida in July. In the spring of 1807 they sent out two other Mediterranean expeditions—against Constantinople and Alexandria respectively; but the first was an immediate failure, and the second resulted only in the temporary occupation of Alexandria. More promising, but also more disastrous, was an attempt on the South American colonies of Spain, to which the Ministry gave its sanction. In January 1806 an expedition sent out by Pitt took the Cape of Good Hope; and its commander, Sir Home Popham, conceived the idea of trying his luck on the other side of the Atlantic. Monte Video and Buenos Aires were successfully occupied for a time, but in July 1807 the British troops were driven out with great loss.

II. The Continental System, 1806-1808.

458. The End of the Holy Roman Empire, 1806.—Meanwhile Napoleon had been busy re-arranging the political map of Europe and preparing to strike at "the nation of shopkeepers" through their commerce. After his great victory at Austerlitz he had created his brothers Joseph and Louis Kings of Naples and Holland respectively, and had organised the petty states of western Germany into a "Confederation of the Rhine" under French protection. These measures naturally alarmed Austria and Prussia. Austria had not yet recovered from her recent disaster, and her ruler contented himself with formally dissolving the Roman Empire—lest Napoleon should force him to abdicate in his own favour—and with falling back on the title which he had assumed two

years earlier, "Hereditary Emperor of Austria": Prussia, whose King had accepted Hanover as a bribe from Napoleon to keep quiet during the Austerlitz campaign, imagined that the army which had been created by Frederick the Great was still invincible, and resolved to appeal to arms. In a single day (October 14, 1806) Napoleon at Jena and Davoust at Auerstadt overthrew the Prussians; and a fortnight later the French entered Berlin in triumph.

459. The Berlin Decrees and the Orders in Council, 1806-1807.—From the Prussian capital Napoleon launched in November 1806 the decrees that were meant to starve into surrender the islanders who were inaccessible to his military power. He declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade, and forbade any article of British manufacture or origin, or any vessel belonging to Britain or her Colonies, to be admitted within the dominions of France and her allies. The British Government retorted with *Orders in Council* forbidding neutral vessels to frequent the ports of France and her dependencies unless they had previously touched at a British port; and in December 1807 Napoleon met their counter-attack by his *Milan Decrees*, declaring all ships that had touched at a British port, or had been searched by British warships, to be lawful prize of war.

Napoleon sought to deprive Great Britain of a market in Europe: Great Britain sought to debar any nation from enjoying the trade from which her own merchants were excluded. As Great Britain had a navy, she was able to enforce her Orders and thus deprive the inhabitants of the greater part of Europe of many commodities which had become almost necessaries of life. The chief results of Napoleon's Continental System were to injure the growing American trade with the Old World, and to make the Americans annoyed with Great Britain, whose "Orders in Council" were much more operative than the French "Decrees," and, what was much more important, to make all the inhabitants of Europe

suffer great inconvenience merely to gratify Napoleon's insensate hatred of Great Britain.

460. Treaty of Tilsit, July 1807.—In order to be effective, Napoleon's commercial embargo had to be made as truly "continental" as possible; but when he issued the *Berlin Decrees*, he was still at war with Prussia and Russia, and neither Portugal nor the Scandinavian States had yet bowed the knee to the French Emperor. At first he did not seem to be in a position to isolate Great Britain, for in April 1807 that Power entered into the *Treaty of Bartenstein* with Prussia, Russia, and Sweden for common action against France. But Great Britain neglected her Baltic allies in order to have her hands free for her Mediterranean and Oceanic projects; and the consequence was that Russia, after suffering defeat at Friedland in June 1807, came to terms with Napoleon. The Tsar Alexander met the "Emperor of the West," as Napoleon sometimes called himself, on a raft in the Niemen, and there made the bargain formally concluded in the *Treaty of Tilsit*:—

(i) Public Treaty. Russia agrees to recognise Napoleon's reconstruction of Germany—including the creation of a Duchy of Warsaw (held by the King of Saxony), and a Kingdom of Westfalia (held by Jerome Bonaparte), both at the cost of Alexander's ally, Prussia, and he promises to mediate between France and Great Britain.

(ii) Secret Treaty. If Great Britain refuse the terms offered—abandonment of her maritime claims and recent conquests—Russia is to help France against her, receiving as compensation Finland (to be taken from Sweden), and Wallachia and Moldavia (to be taken from Turkey). Russia also permits Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal to be forced into the French alliance.

461. The Reply of the Portland Ministry, 1807.—The Talents Ministry had replied to the *Berlin Decrees* by the *Orders in Council*; but it fell to the lot of their successors to meet these new dangers. Fortunately the new Ministry included members more capable than its nominal chief, the Duke of Portland, or his Chancellor of the Exchequer,

Spencer Perceval. The Foreign Secretary was George Canning, one of the ablest of Pitt's followers, and the author of many of the most brilliant verses in the *Anti-Jacobin*; while the Secretary for War and the Colonies was Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, who had been trained in the same school and had made his mark during the negotiations for the Irish Union. It was Canning who anticipated the Franco-Russian designs on Denmark, by sending an expedition which bombarded Copenhagen in September 1807, and saved the Danish fleet from falling into the enemy's clutches. Naturally the two Emperors who had perpetrated the shameless bargain at Tilsit joined in denouncing this new illustration of British perfidy and tyranny. The British Ministry also seized the Danish island of Heligoland, which became useful for smuggling goods into Germany; and they helped the Portuguese Royal Family to escape to Brazil when a French army marched into Lisbon to punish Portugal for her half-hearted adhesion to the Continental System.

III. The Peninsular War, 1808-1814.

462. The National Uprising in Spain and Portugal, 1808.—Having secured Portugal, Napoleon resolved to take advantage of the presence of his troops in the Iberian Peninsula to strengthen his hold on Spain. In May 1808 he compelled Charles IV. and his son Ferdinand to abdicate in favour of Joseph Bonaparte. As a matter of fact, Joseph was likely to make a far better King than either of the deposed Bourbons; but the Spaniards saw in the change, not a boon to themselves, but an insolent and treacherous attempt by a foreign upstart to impose a King on them against their will. They rose *en masse* and thus began a national resistance to Napoleon which was a prime cause of his overthrow. Canning at once sent help to the insurgents, beginning with Portugal as more convenient. In August Sir Arthur

Wellesley landed a considerable force in Mondego Bay, and defeated Junot at Roriça and Vimiero. He was then superseded by senior officers, who at once permitted the French to withdraw under the *Convention of Cintra*. Shortly afterwards Sir John Moore—who had just returned from a futile endeavour to save Sweden from Russia—took the command and marched into the heart of Spain. Completely misled by his Spanish allies, Moore nearly fell into the hands of Napoleon himself; but he contrived to retreat to Corunna, where he was killed in the battle fought to cover the embarkation of the remnant of his forces (January 16, 1809).

463. Wagram and Walcheren, 1809.—Though the Spaniards were unable to face the French in pitched battles, and though the British had been forced to withdraw, the Spanish rising necessitated the presence of so large a French army in Spain, that Austria ventured on a fourth effort against France. She declared war in April, and in May she nearly defeated Napoleon in a great fight at Aspern. But in July Napoleon won a decisive victory at Wagram, and in October he again compelled Austria to make peace, and even enter into a marriage alliance. Napoleon divorced Josephine Beauharnais and became the son-in-law of the Emperor of Austria. Meanwhile Great Britain had been trying to help Austria by making a diversion in the Low Countries. The expedition started late; its commanders, Chatham and Strachan, quarrelled; and the army was half destroyed by fever while engaged in a useless siege of Flushing in the island of Walcheren. The failure of the Walcheren expedition led to a duel between Castlereagh, its originator, and Canning, who believed that the Peninsula provided a better field of operations. They both resigned their offices in September, and in the following month Portland retired in favour of Spencer Perceval.

464. Talavera and Torres Vedras, 1809-1810.—In the reconstructed Ministry the Foreign Secretary was the Marquess Wellesley and the Secretary of War was the Earl of Liverpool,

who, as Lord Hawkesbury, had had much diplomatic experience. Perceval's Administration, after some hesitation, took up the Peninsular War with vigour. There Sir Arthur Wellesley had again taken the command in May, and had at once driven Soult out of Portugal and invaded Spain. In July he had defeated Victor and Jourdan in a battle at Talavera, which gained him the title of Viscount Wellington and which partly balanced the contemporary disasters of Wagram and Walcheren. His position was still so uncertain, however, that he dared not risk a battle in the following year, especially as Napoleon had sent large reinforcements into Spain to finish off the war. He retreated slowly before Masséna, and finally retired behind the fortifications which he had had constructed to defend Lisbon across the peninsula between the Tagus and the sea. Masséna could not break through the "triple lines" of Torres Vedras; supplies failed him; and in the spring of 1811 he was compelled to withdraw his starving troops into Spain.

465. Peninsular Campaigns of 1811, 1812.—Having secured his hold on Portugal, Wellington was now able again to take the offensive. In May he himself defeated Masséna at Fuentes de Oñoro, and his subordinate Beresford defeated Soult after a deadly struggle at Albuera. The latter battle was fought to cover the siege of Badajos, one of the fortresses on the frontier between Spain and Portugal which it was necessary to take before an invasion of Spain could be safe. Early in 1812 Wellington took both Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos—not, however, without heavy loss—and pushed on into Spain. There he defeated Marmont at Salamanca in July and occupied Madrid for a moment; but, having received a check at Burgos in September, he again had to retreat to Portugal for the winter. Yet Napoleon had so drained the Peninsula of troops for his Russian campaign (§ 468), that the south of Spain and the whole of Portugal were now safe from the French; and the Spanish Cortes assembled at Cadiz

showed their confidence in the future security of Spain by drawing up the Constitution of 1812.

466. The Regency and the Liverpool Ministry, 1810-1812.—George III. was a warm supporter of Wellington; and one of his last public actions, before he became permanently insane in 1810, was to commend the active prosecution of the Peninsular War to his Ministers. The accession of the Prince of Wales as Regent made little difference in politics: he retained his father's Ministers and later adopted his antipathy to Roman Catholic Emancipation. This change of views became important when the assassination of Perceval in May 1812 necessitated a reconstruction of the Ministry. There were some negotiations with Wellesley and Canning, and later with Lords Grey and Grenville, but all these men were definitely committed to the cause of Roman Catholic relief; and in the end the old Ministry was reconstructed under Lord Liverpool, with Castlereagh and Sidmouth at the Foreign and Home Offices respectively, and with the recognition of Roman Catholic relief as "an open question." Liverpool remained Premier till 1827, but before that date several significant changes took place in the composition of his Cabinet (§ 478).

467. The Anglo-American War, 1812-1814.—In 1812 the Anglo-French commercial war involved France in war with Russia, and Great Britain in war with the United States of America. The commercial regulations of the warring Powers were ruinous to American trade and industry; and though both Powers were equally to blame, the anti-British party in the States managed to concentrate their hostility on Great Britain. The British practice of searching American ships for deserters from the British Navy, and for goods from the French colonies, caused even greater irritation than Napoleon's practice of seizing American ships and goods in European harbours; and in June 1812 the United States formally declared war on Great Britain. The most conspicuous

incidents in the war were a number of duels between frigates, in which the American vessels usually had the advantage—the victory of the *Shannon* over the *Chesapeake* outside Boston Harbour being the most notable exception (June 1813). The Americans made various raids into Canada which resulted in barren victories, and British expeditions burnt Washington, but failed to take Baltimore and New Orleans. The war was terminated, without settling the original points of dispute, by the *Treaty of Ghent*, December 1814.

468. The Russian Campaign and the Wars of Liberation, 1812-1813.—The American War had no influence whatever on the course of the conflict in Europe; but the contemporary war waged by Napoleon on Russia was even more disastrous to the French cause than the Peninsular War. Finding that Russia was getting few advantages out of the Tilsit agreement, and was suffering severely from the exclusion of British trade, Alexander withdrew from his French alliance; and Napoleon resolved to complete his hold over Continental Europe by conquering Russia. In June 1812 he crossed the Niemen at the head of half a million troops drawn from all the peoples of Europe, and in September he entered the holy city of Moscow. He was compelled by the partial burning of that city to retreat; and in his retreat he lost nearly the whole of his army. At first his withdrawal seemed to leave him where he was before; but in February 1813 Russia was persuaded to take the offensive and help the states of Central Europe to rise against Napoleonic rule.

This scheme was chiefly the work of Baron Stein, who had reorganised Prussia after the defeats of 1806, and had, on being driven into exile by Napoleon, become the Tsar's confidential adviser. At Stein's instance, an appeal was made in Prussia and other German States, not to the duty of the inhabitants towards their princes but to their love for the German fatherland; and the result of their enthusiastic

response was the "War of Liberation." In June Austria joined the movement; and in October the Allies drove Napoleon out of Leipsig in the three days' fight known as the "Battle of the Nations." By the end of the year the Allies had advanced to the eastern frontier of France, while Wellington had followed up a great victory at Vittoria in June by fighting his way across the Pyrenees.

469. The First Downfall of Napoleon, April 1814.—The Allies again and again offered favourable terms, which Napoleon rejected, partly because he feared that the acceptance of defeat would ruin his domestic position, partly because he disbelieved in the continuance of union among the Allies. Despite their jealousies, however, their armies pressed forward into France during the first three months of 1814. Napoleon himself faced the invaders from Germany, while Soult offered a steady resistance to Wellington's march in the south. Early in April Napoleon was compelled by his marshals to abdicate; and a few days later Wellington won his final victory over Soult at Toulouse. When the Allies reached Paris they acquiesced in the preparations that had been made for a Bourbon restoration, in the person of Louis XVI.'s brother, who took the title of Louis XVIII. The *First Treaty of Paris* (May 1814) banished Napoleon to Elba, leaving him the title of Emperor, and assigned to France the boundaries of 1792.

IV. The Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815.

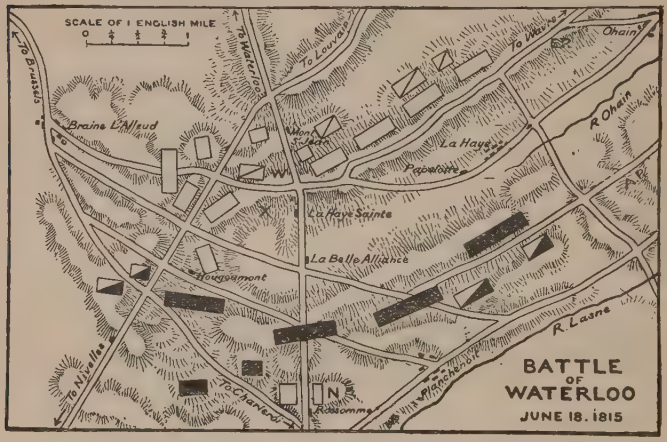
470. Agenda of the Congress.—Towards the end of the year the monarchs and statesmen of all the countries of Europe except Turkey met in congress at Vienna to settle the affairs of the Continent. The four Great Powers—Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia—had already, during the Wars of Liberation, made various agreements among themselves as to the future; and they now desired to keep the decision of

outstanding questions in their own hands. But Talleyrand, the astute diplomatist who represented France, put forward the claims of both his own country and the minor Powers of Europe to have a voice in the settlement, and diligently turned the differences among the Great Powers to the advantage of France. In January he succeeded in forming an alliance between France, Austria, and Great Britain to counteract the designs of Russia on Poland and Prussia on Saxony.

471. The Return of Napoleon and the Fifth Coalition.—Reports of the quarrels among the diplomatists at Vienna, and of French dissatisfaction with the restored Bourbons, induced Napoleon to make a bid for his old position. On February 26, 1815, therefore, he left Elba, and landing near Antibes, five days later, entered Paris in March, once more Emperor of the French. The Congress at Vienna at once abandoned their diplomatic discussions, and, in order to crush the common enemy before he should establish himself, promptly formed the Fifth Coalition. Thousands of men were sent by the Allies to the campaign on the north-eastern frontier of France, while Napoleon had on his side all the quarter million veterans, both officers and soldiers, who had been released from prison or garrison at the recent peace. With these he hoped to crush his enemies in detail, before they had time to concentrate.

472. The Waterloo Campaign, June 15-18, 1815.—On June 15 Napoleon crossed the Sambre and tried to insert himself between the mixed army of Wellington, whose head-quarters were at Brussels, and the Prussian army lying further to the east. On June 16 Napoleon defeated the Prussians under Blücher at Ligny, and next day sent Grouchy in pursuit of them. On June 16 also, Ney tried, but failed, to dislodge the British and Belgian forces under Wellington from their position at Quatre Bras; and on the 18th Napoleon attempted to force his way northwards towards

Brussels by way of Waterloo, while the British and their allies on the ridge at Saint-Jean stubbornly barred the road, till in the evening they were reinforced by the Prussians. Then the British assumed the offensive and scattered the French army. The Allies advanced across the French frontier, and on July 7 entered Paris. Napoleon abdicated in favour of



Wellington, 61,000.
[24,000 = British.]

Napoleon, 71,000.
[Out of 124,000.]

W = Wellington's Head-quarters.

N = Napoleon's Head-quarters.

A.P. = Prussians under Bülow (4 p.m.).
E.P. = Prussians under Blücher (7 p.m.).
X = Repulse of the Imperial Guard.

his son, and then surrendered to the commander of the British ship *Bellerophon*, lying off Rochefort. He was sent to St. Helena, where six years later he died.

473. Territorial Settlement of the Congress.—Having overthrown Napoleon, the Allies rapidly completed the work of settlement interrupted by "The Hundred Days" campaign. Their general plan was to restore the Balance of Power in Europe to the condition in which it was before the outbreak

of the French Revolution, compensating some states for their losses, and punishing others which had supported Napoleon. The Bourbons were restored not only in France, but also in Spain and the Two Sicilies. France, reduced to its boundaries as they were before 1790, was compelled to pay an indemnity and submit to an army of occupation; Austria received the Venetian territories in North Italy; Prussia received compensation in Pomerania, Saxony, and the Rhine Provinces for the loss of part of her Polish possessions; the Netherlands, northern and southern, were created into a kingdom for the House of Orange; Sweden was compensated for the loss of Finland by the possession of Norway, taken from Denmark; the German lands included in the defunct Holy Roman Empire were formed into a loose confederation under the presidency of the Emperor of Austria; and Great Britain retained Malta, Heligoland, Cape Colony, and Mauritius. The general result was a curious compromise between the old state of things and the new arrangements framed by Napoleon; and the whole scheme was based on the interest of ruling Houses, not on the national sentiments which had been recently aroused and which proved to be still active.

CHAPTER XIII.

ROMAN CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION, 1815-1830.

A. Personal History.—George IV., eldest son of George III., was born at St. James's Palace, August 12, 1762; was created Prince of Wales, August 17, 1762; married (1) Mary Anne Fitzherbert in 1785 (a marriage illegal under the *Royal Marriage Act* of 1772); (2) Caroline of Brunswick (*d.* August 7, 1821), April 8, 1795; appointed Regent, February 5, 1811; succeeded his father as King, January 29, 1820; crowned at Westminster, July 19, 1821; died at Windsor, June 26, 1830; buried in St. George's Chapel. For family connections see Table, p. 58.

B. Contemporary Rulers.

Papacy.	France.	Spain.	Austria.	Prussia.	Russia.	Turkey.
Pius VII. (1800) Leo XII. (1823) Pius VIII. (1829-1830)	Louis XVIII. (1814) Charles X. (1824-1830)	Ferdinand VII. (1813-1833)	Francis I. (1804-1835) [= Francis II., H. R. E. 1792-1806]	Frederick William III. (1797-1840)	Alexander I. (1801) Nicholas I. (1825-1855)	Mahmoud II. (1808-1839) [Mehemet Ali Pasha of Egypt, 1811-1849]

C. Topics of the Period.

(i) **International**: *relations with*—
- (1) France: §§ 475, 480, 481.
- (2) Spain: §§ 477, 480.
- (3) Austria: §§ 475, 480, 481.
- (4) Russia: §§ 475, 480, 481, 483.
- (5) Turkey: §§ 480, 481, 483.
- (6) United States: § 480.

(ii) **Constitutional.**
- (1) Political Parties: §§ 474, 482, 485.
- (2) Ministries: §§ 477, 478, 482.
- (3) Social Discontent: § 476.
- (4) Parliamentary Reform: §§ 478, 485.
- (5) Commerce: § 479.
- (6) Toleration: §§ 482, 483, 484.

I. Castlereagh and Sidmouth, 1815-1823.

474. Political Parties after the Great War.—The era following the battle of Waterloo is sometimes known as "the

Thirty Years' Peace." During that period, it is true, there were no great wars in Europe, but neither was there any "peace" in any real sense of the term. The financial burdens directly and indirectly caused by the long wars, together with the growth of political aspirations among the middle and lower classes of society, brought about almost constant unrest in every European State; and this unrest led to all manner of international complications. The politicians who had to deal with this restlessness fall naturally into three groups—those who wanted to go back to the "good old times" when kings governed and people obeyed; those who wanted to remain where they were, not trying to undo what was done, and still less wishful to make further changes; and those who, either from deliberate choice or because they could not help themselves, wished to "move with the times" and to go forward. Corresponding with these states of mind we find such new party labels as "Reactionary" and "Ultra Royalist"; "Conservative" and "Moderate"; "Liberal," "Progressive," and "Radical." In the beginning the first class of politicians naturally took the lead.

475. Reaction in Europe, 1815-1820.—The diplomatists who settled the affairs of Europe at the *Congress of Vienna* were, for the most part, persons whose mental attitude had been formed during the last years of the eighteenth century: inevitably, therefore, they distrusted "popular" movements and dreaded "revolutions." The leader of this reactionary movement, Prince Metternich, the Austrian Chancellor, had considerable influence over Castlereagh and Wellington, the most eminent British statesmen of the time, and also over the Tsar Alexander, who had done almost, if not quite, as much as Great Britain towards the overthrow of Napoleon. Despot by birth, Liberal in sentiment, Alexander towards the end of 1815 put forward a scheme of a *Holy Alliance* amongst all Christian Kings to "govern their peoples as one Christian nation upon Christian principles"; and most Kings

assented to his scheme out of politeness, while laughing in their sleeves at its absurdity or annoyed at the "hypocrisy" of its projector. In the course of the next three years Alexander experienced so much difficulty in governing his kingdom of Poland on Liberal lines, that he practically dropped his ideals and adopted Metternich's views. In 1818, at the *Congress of Aachen* (Aix-la-Chapelle), Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia formed a *Quadruple Alliance*, designed to check the outburst of revolution not only in their own territories, but in those of neighbouring monarchs. In 1820 revolutions broke out in Portugal, Spain, and Naples; and during the next two years the Great Powers met in various congresses to take joint measures against the revolutionaries. Great Britain, under the guidance of Castlereagh, took no part in these measures and gradually fell out of "the Concert of Europe."

476. Reaction in Great Britain, 1815-1819.—Meanwhile the British Ministry that had declined to repress disorder abroad, until it clearly threatened the peace of Europe, was busy repressing disorder at home. This disorder was almost wholly due to economic causes. The wages both of artisans and of agricultural labourers were low, while taxes and the price of food were high. During the period of the Great War the National Debt had risen from £239,000,000 to £861,000,000: the interest on this alone required taxation at the rate of about 30*s.* per head; and these taxes were largely raised by customs-duties on the necessaries of life. In 1815, to protect the agricultural classes from foreign competition, a new *Corn Law* was passed forbidding the importation of grain until the home supply reached famine prices (in the case of wheat 80*s.* per quarter); and the benefit of these high prices went almost wholly to the landlords and the farmers, not to the labourers. The conditions of life which had sprung up in the new factory towns were horrible. Such misery inevitably led to discontent; and this discontent—whether it took the form of riots or agitation, in public meetings or in

the newspapers, for political reforms—seemed to a not very wise Government to call for repression. In 1817 Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, obtained a suspension of the *Habeas Corpus Act*, and issued a circular authorising the local magistrates to arrest persons publishing blasphemous or seditious libels. In 1819 a bungling attempt by the Manchester magistrates to arrest "Orator Hunt" and disperse an illegal meeting in St. Peter's Fields led to a number of deaths; and this "Manchester Massacre" or "Battle of Peterloo" caused such an outcry that Sidmouth nervously passed the *Six Acts*, giving the magistrates summary powers to disarm agitators, to suppress public meetings and libels. But the same year Peel carried an Act for the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England (§ 441).

477. George IV. and Queen Caroline, 1820-1821.—In January 1820 George III. died and was succeeded by his eldest son, who had been Regent for the previous nine years. On the whole this change had some effect in weakening the existing Government. In the first place, it was impossible to feel the same respect for a coarse, selfish, extravagant, and immoral man like George IV. as for his father, who, with all his shortcomings, had been devoted to what he believed to be the best interests of his subjects, and whose insanity was partly due to his unremitting attention to his public duties. A silly scheme, known as the Cato Street Conspiracy, to murder the Ministers in February 1820 was evidence of the widespread feeling that nothing good could be expected of the new King. But what chiefly injured the Ministry was its attitude towards a squalid scandal in the Royal Family itself. In 1795 George had married Caroline of Brunswick in order to obtain money from Parliament to pay his debts, but he had separated from her shortly afterwards; and he now sought a formal divorce from her on the ground of her misconduct. Lord Liverpool was persuaded to bring in a *Bill of Pains and Penalties* dissolving the marriage; but there was such an

outcry against it in the country that the Bill had to be withdrawn. Caroline's foolish behaviour soon destroyed her popularity, and she died in August 1821; but the scandal lowered the prestige of the Kingship and the parliamentary position of the Ministers. Some people even thought that it might lead to a revolution similar to those which the misconduct of the restored Bourbons was causing in Spain and in Naples about this time.

478. Changes in the Liverpool Ministry, 1821-1823.—Both Ministry and Parliament were undergoing changes which ultimately diminished these prospects of violent revolution. In May 1821 Sidmouth retired from public life owing to the infirmities of age, and was succeeded by Peel at the Home Office; in September 1822 the Marquess of Londonderry, formerly Viscount Castlereagh, committed suicide, and Canning, about to sail for India as Governor-General, was detained to take the Foreign Secretaryship; in 1823 Frederick Robinson, afterwards Viscount Goderich and Earl of Ripon, became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and William Huskisson President of the Board of Trade. Thus, instead of Sidmouth, Castlereagh, Vansittart, whose names connote old Toryism, we have Peel, Canning, Huskisson, men of newer and more liberal ideas on politics. The new men were not so much in favour of change as less obstinately opposed to it than their predecessors. In 1821, for instance, they allowed Lord John Russell to carry a Bill disfranchising the Cornish borough of Grampound for corruption, and transferring its two seats to the county of York.

II. Canning and Huskisson, 1822-1827.

479. Huskisson's Commercial Policy, 1823-1826.—Huskisson used his authority as President of the Board of Trade to transform the commercial policy of Great Britain. Statesmen, following the counsel of associated bodies of merchants,

ceased to aim at mercantile supremacy by way of self-sufficiency: their object was to make the country rich by entering more freely into foreign trade. Huskisson lowered or abolished the import duties on raw materials, especially silk and wool, in order to enable British manufacturers to compete with foreign manufacturers. His *Reciprocity of Duties Act*, 1823, modified the Navigation Laws by giving better terms to countries which facilitated the entrance of British goods and shipping than to those which aimed at complete exclusion of foreigners. In 1824 various old laws regulating wages, and restricting the movements and combinations of workmen, were repealed. In the same year Peel took up the work of criminal law reform, and in the course of the next six years he procured the abolition of many barbarous punishments previously inflicted for petty crimes.

480. Canning's Foreign Policy, 1822-1826.—The problems which Canning had to deal with were somewhat different from those which had presented themselves to his predecessor, and he faced them in a somewhat different spirit. Like Castlereagh, Canning believed that his main duty was to maintain British interests; but whereas these had been threatened in Castlereagh's days by the disturbed state of Europe, the danger was now rather that one or other of the Great Powers should aggrandise itself under pretence of putting down disturbances. When he took office the Neapolitan rising had been suppressed by Austria, but the insurgents in Spain and Portugal were still in power, and a fresh rising had broken out in the Balkan Peninsula. The "Latin" risings of 1820 had been made on behalf of "constitutional government"—that is, government in accordance with principles set forth in some such document as the Spanish Constitution of 1812 (§ 465): the "Greek" revolt of 1821 was "national" rather than "constitutional" in object, for it aimed at liberating the Greek Christians from the rule of the Muhammadan Sultan of Turkey.

In dealing with all these different risings Canning was largely animated by that distrust of Russia which had been a dominant feature in the international policy of his master, the Younger Pitt. Castlereagh had taken up a policy of strict non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states; Canning sometimes carried this policy of non-intervention a step further, by intervening to prevent intervention. He did not interfere with the action of France in restoring the Bourbon King Ferdinand VII. to his full power in Spain in 1823. But when Russia proposed to help the restored Bourbon to reconquer his revolted colonies in South America, Canning joined President Monroe of the United States in recognising the new Republics and in forbidding European interference in America. And when in 1826 France proposed to follow up her intervention in Spain by "restoring order" in Portugal, Canning sent a fleet to the Tagus to help the existing Government, and France drew back, not desiring to become involved in another Peninsular War.

481. Canning and the Greek Revolt, 1822-1827.—The Greek Rising in 1821 was variously regarded. To some it was wholly objectionable as being a revolt against a legitimate government: while others approved of it either on sentimental or on religious grounds, that is because they thought of the Greeks as descendants of the heroes of Marathon or as Christians struggling against Muhammadan oppression. Metternich on the one side and the poet Byron (who died at Missolonghi in 1823 while fighting for the Greeks) on the other side were representatives of these extreme views. Canning, though not without the sympathy of a classical scholar for people calling themselves Hellenes, professed to act entirely for the political interests of Great Britain. He could not permit Russia to extend her hold over Turkey under the pretence of championing the liberties of the Christian subjects of the Porte. In 1824 the Sultan

obtained the help of his semi-independent vassal, Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt; and an Egyptian army and fleet under Ibrahim Pasha began to reconquer the Morea. In 1825 Alexander I. was succeeded by his brother Nicholas, who was more disposed towards active intervention. Ultimately, in July 1827, Canning—who had just become Prime Minister on the retirement of Liverpool—arranged a *Treaty of London* with France and Russia, whereby the three Powers agreed to a joint intervention to secure Greek autonomy. Turkey refused to accept their mediation; Ibrahim refused to withdraw his forces; and so in October the Egyptian fleet was destroyed by the Allied fleet under Codrington in the harbour of Navarino. This battle virtually secured for the Greeks the independence which their intestine quarrels made them unable to win for themselves.

III. Wellington and O'Connell, 1827-1830.

482. Ministerial Changes, 1827.—Before the battle of Navarino had been fought Canning's brief premiership had been ended by death; and his successors disapproved of his policy so far as to describe the battle as "an untoward event." Lord Liverpool had retired through ill-health early in 1827, and Canning had taken his place in April. The immediate consequence was the resignation of the high Tories—Eldon, Wellington, and Peel—who refused to serve under Canning because he was in favour of Roman Catholic Emancipation. Canning obtained the support of some of the Whigs, and continued his efforts to bring the Greek revolt to a close in favour of the Greeks. He died in August 1827, and Goderich formed an Administration consisting mainly of Tories like Wellington, who could not endure Canning's progressive policy. Goderich was a capable official, but he lacked the power to control subordinates; and in January 1828 he resigned in favour of Wellington.

483. Wellington and Protestant Nonconformists, 1828.—Wellington was popularly known as the "Iron Duke"; but as a politician he almost merited the description given to a later British statesman—"a lath painted to look like iron." A Tory of the "high and dry" school, he was continually taking up positions which he believed to be logically impregnable, but which in course of time his strong common-sense showed him to be practically untenable. In foreign policy he disliked the extension of Russian control over Turkey; and yet he withdrew from that intervention in Greek affairs whereby Canning had striven to diminish the influence of Russia in Balkan affairs; the result was that Russia was able in 1829 to force on Turkey the unfavourable *Treaty of Adrianople.*

In home politics Wellington wished to maintain the existing constitution in Church and State; yet his Ministry was marked by two ecclesiastical measures which his friends regarded as revolutionary. These measures removed certain civil disabilities to which Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics respectively were still subjected on account of their religious beliefs. In 1828 Lord John Russell carried a motion for the repeal of the *Corporation Act* of 1661, and of the *Test Act* of 1673, so far as they related to the Dissenters; and the Ministry, though opposing the resolution, felt it expedient to support the Bill which was based on it. For more than a century, however, these Acts had been rendered inoperative by annual *Indemnity Acts,* which pardoned Dissenters for all breaches of them during the preceding twelvemonth (§ 337).

484. Wellington and Catholic Nonconformists, 1829.—The question of Roman Catholic Emancipation was more difficult, and was taken in hand in a different spirit. During the eighteenth century the persecution of Roman Catholicism as a religion had gradually died out; but there remained, as there still remains, the idea that the somewhat elastic and

indefinable claims of the Papacy made it dangerous to accord to her adherents the privileges of full citizenship. These privileges, however, had been promised during the negotiations for the Irish Union; and there was a continuous demand in Ireland for the fulfilment of Pitt's pledges. Daniel O'Connell had organised Irish opinion on this point by means of a Catholic Committee (1809), and later by a "Catholic Association" (1823), which soon wielded more power in Ireland than the Government itself. Conflicts between this Association and the Orange Societies led in 1825 to the suppression of such associations for three years.

On the expiring of this Act in 1828 the Catholic Association at once showed its power by carrying O'Connell as member for Clare against a popular Protestant candidate, Vesey Fitz-Gerald. There seemed to be no alternative between civil war and the removal of the cause of discontent; and the Tory Ministry preferred the latter. In March and April 1829 they forced through Parliament a *Roman Catholic Relief Act* which admitted Roman Catholics, on taking a new oath instead of the Oath of Supremacy, to both Houses of Parliament, to all corporate bodies, to all lay judicial offices, and to all political offices except those of Regent, Lord Chancellor in England and Ireland, and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. This concession was safeguarded by measures suppressing the Catholic Association and minimising the electoral influence of the Irish Romanist priesthood by raising the Irish freehold franchise qualification from 40s. to £10.

485. State of Parties at the Death of George IV., June 1830.—Despite the opposition of the King and of the Anglican clergy, Wellington and Peel had carried their measure; but they had estranged many of their supporters in so doing. They had already quarrelled with the moderate Tories in 1828 over a point of Parliamentary Reform. There had been proposals to disfranchise the pocket boroughs of

Penryn and East Retford, and to transfer the seats to Manchester and Birmingham; and the "Canningite" members of the Ministry—Huskisson, Henry Temple, Viscount Palmerston, and William Lamb, later Viscount Melbourne—had resigned because their leaders would not support the proposal. These differences of opinion all illustrated the break-up of the Tory party into the elements out of which it had been compounded—those who believed, and those who disbelieved, in the desirability or inevitableness of "reform." In June 1830 George IV. died, and in the following month Charles X. was suddenly expelled from France by the Revolution of July. These events marked the collapse of the reactionary movement at home and abroad.

CHAPTER XIV.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, 1830-1837.

A. Personal History.—William Henry, Duke of Clarence, third son of George III., was born August 21, 1765; married Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen, 1818; succeeded his eldest brother, George IV. (Frederick, Duke of York, having died in 1827), with the title William IV., June 26, 1830; died at Windsor, without surviving issue, June 20, 1837; buried at St. George's Chapel, Windsor. For family connections see Table, p. 58.

B. Contemporary Rulers.

Papacy.	France.	Spain.	Austria.	Prussia.	Russia.	Turkey.
Pius VIII. (1823-1830) Gregory XVI. (1831-1846)	Revolution of July: Louis Philippe (1830-1848)	Ferdinand VII. (1808) Isabella II. (1833-1868)	Francis I. (1804) Ferdinand I. (1835-1848)	Frederick William III. (1797-1840)	Nicholas I. (1825-1855)	Mahmoud II. (1808-1839) Otto, King of Greece (1832-1862)

C. Topics of the Reign.

(i) **International**: *relations with*—
(1) France: §§ 486, 491, 501, 502.
(2) Belgium: §§ 486, 491, 501.
(3) Spain: § 501.
(4) Austria: §§ 486, 491, 501.
(5) Russia: §§ 486, 491, 501, 502.

(ii) **Constitutional.**
(1) Ministries: §§ 487, 489, 492, 495, 497, 498.
(2) Parliament: §§ 487-490, 496, 499.
(3) Social Reform: §§ 492-494, 496, 498-500.
(4) Ireland: §§ 490, 492, 495, 500.
(5) India: §§ 492, 502, 503.

I. The Great Reform Bill, 1830-1832.

486. The Year of Revolution, 1830. — The year of William IV.'s accession was a "year of revolution" in many parts of Europe. In July Charles X. of France was expelled

from Paris, and after an interval was succeeded by his distant cousin, Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans. The new monarch owed his position to popular election, not to the principle of "legitimacy"; and this fact was expressed both by his title "King of the French," and also by his pose of being a "citizen King." The establishment of the July monarchy made revolution infectious. The inhabitants of the Southern Netherlands, who had now assumed the classic name of Belgians, rose against their Dutch masters and were ultimately allowed by the Powers to form an independent Kingdom of Belgium. There were minor movements against the Metternich system in Germany; and further east the Poles rose in revolt against Russia—only to be subjugated in the following year. Quite as revolutionary in their ultimate effects, though not involving bloodshed, were two British events in the same year—the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway in September (when Huskisson was killed), and the resignation of Wellington in November.

487. Formation of the Grey Administration, 1830.—The abolition of anomalous disabilities on the score of religion (1828-1829) had left the way clear for the abolition of anomalous privileges in the parliamentary electorate. But Wellington and his friends were not inclined to give way on this point as they had done on the other. During 1830, in fact, Peel had given out as his deliberate opinion the statement that "there was a general representation of the people in the House of Commons, and that the popular voice was sufficiently heard"; while his chief had expressed himself as "fully convinced that the country possessed at the present moment a Legislature which answered all the good purposes of legislation, and this to a greater degree than any legislature had ever answered in any country whatever." On the other hand, Lord Grey, the leader of the Whigs in the Upper House, had advocated reform not because those taxed had a right to vote, nor yet because manhood was itself a right to

suffrage, but in order "to secure the affections" of the unrepresented classes, and "to reduce their grievances." Grey, in fact, believed that Parliamentary Reform was the only way to avoid such civil wars and tumults as those which were convulsing continental states at the time; and when Wellington resigned in November, Grey formed a Ministry of men who shared these views. Some of his colleagues were Whigs—*e.g.* Lords Althorpe and Durham—and some were Canningites—*e.g.* Palmerston, Melbourne, and Goderich, the three Secretaries of State.

488. First and Second Reform Bills, 1831.—In March 1831 Lord John Russell, who was in the Ministry but not in the Cabinet, introduced into the House of Commons a Reform Bill which had the "unanimous consent of the whole Government"; the second reading was carried by a majority of one in the largest house on record (302 to 301); but a little later the Government was defeated in committee and resolved to "appeal to the country." The elections caused intense excitement and resulted in a great increase in the majority of the Government. In June Russell and Stanley introduced a second Bill, which passed the House of Commons in September, but was rejected by the Lords in October. During the autumn recess meetings were held all over the country in favour of the Bill: at one of these, in Birmingham, a resolution was passed not to pay taxes until the Bill became law; at another, in Bristol, riots resulted in the burning of many public buildings and the death or disablement of more than a hundred persons.

489. Third Reform Bill, January-June 1832.—In December 1831 there was introduced a Third Bill, embodying many amendments which had been suggested in the debates on its forerunners, and this passed through the House of Commons before the end of March 1832. Various attempts were made to stop its progress in the House of Lords; and in May the Ministry asked the King to create

peers enough to pass the Bill. When he refused, the Ministers resigned; the Duke of Wellington tried to form an administration pledged to a more moderate scheme of reform, but failed; and the King had to take back Grey and his colleagues and promise to create peers or do anything else necessary to carry the Bill through the Lords. Under this pressure, applied by Ministers to King and Lords at the bidding of the masses outside Parliament, the Bill became law in June 1832.

490. The Reform Acts, 1832.—The English *Reform Bill* was followed by similar Bills dealing with Scotland and Ireland. Their general effect was to redistribute seats according to the existing distribution of the inhabitants (but without provision for future changes) and to put the franchise on a wider and more uniform footing. The principal details may be thus summarised:—

(i) REDISTRIBUTION OF SEATS: 143 seats are taken away from "rotten boroughs" and given to hitherto unrepresented towns, such as Leeds and Birmingham, to counties, to Ireland (5) and to Scotland (8).

(ii) FRANCHISE: (1) *In Boroughs*, the old and various systems are superseded by a uniform £10 household franchise; (2) *In Counties*, the old freehold voters are supplemented by copyholders, leaseholders, and the more important tenants at will.

491. Palmerston's Foreign Policy, 1830-1832.—While most of the members of Lord Grey's Ministry had been fully engaged with their scheme for Parliamentary Reform, the Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, had been busy attempting to adjust the various revolutionary movements in Europe. Palmerston here acted in the spirit of Canning rather than of Castlereagh or Wellington. He opposed the reactionary policy of Metternich wherever he could—that is to say, roughly, wherever, if it came to fighting, he could make use of the British fleet. Poland and Germany were inaccessible, and accordingly Palmerston could do nothing to save the

Polish nationalists or the German constitutionalists from being suppressed by the Emperors of Russia and Austria. But in the West he stood firm for Liberal principles and British interests.

In close alliance with Louis Philippe, the new King of France, he helped the Belgians to become independent; in the Conference of London, 1831, he fixed with the Western Powers the limits of the new state, and arranged that the King should be Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the widower of George IV.'s popular daughter, the Princess Charlotte. This settlement was ultimately accepted by Russia and Holland. The general trend of Palmerston's policy was in the early years of his Secretaryship to join France in opposition to the Eastern Powers, Austria, Prussia, and Russia; and, on the whole, this policy was continued, whenever France had not conflicting interests, throughout the thirty years of his career as Foreign Minister.

II. The First Two Reformed Parliaments, 1833-1837.

492. Abolition of Slavery, 1833.—By carrying the *Reform Acts* the Ministry was in some ways strengthened, and in others weakened. In the first reformed House of Commons, which met in January 1833, the Tories led by Peel numbered less than one hundred and fifty. But many of the supporters of the Government were not satisfied with the measure of Parliamentary Reform in its final shape and wanted other reforms; and in attempting to meet the wishes of its Radical and Irish supporters the Ministry not only became divided against itself, but also alienated many of its friends. Before it fell to pieces, however, it did a great deal of useful work. In 1833 it passed a *Coercion Act* to enable the authorities to cope with the disorder in Ireland; a new *Bank Charter Act*, according to which the Bank of England was to retain its monopoly of issuing notes within sixty-five miles of London, while the relations between the Government and the Bank

were modified; a new *East India Company Act*, by which the Company was to abandon all commerce and devote itself to the government of India, for which purpose it was subsidised by the State; and an Act for the total suppression of slavery in the Colonies. The planters received as compensation the sum of £20,000,000, and the slaves were to be gradually emancipated: this was later found impracticable, and they were at once granted complete freedom. This Act caused much trouble in the West Indian slave-holding Colonies, and in South Africa (§ 514).

493. The First Education Grant, 1833.—The Act for the Abolition of Slavery was accompanied by measures for the relief and improvement of classes at home whose lot was little better, perhaps even worse, than that of the negro slaves in distant dependencies. One of these instituted the practice of parliamentary grants in aid of the education of the poor; the other continued on a more extensive scale previous attempts to alleviate the hardships of the factory system.

During the eighteenth century private individuals like Robert Raikes of Gloucester had started teaching work in a similar spirit to that in which Wesley and Whitefield had begun preaching to the uneducated masses; and early in the nineteenth century two large societies had been founded with the same object. One of these, "The British and Foreign School Society" (1807), comprised Protestants of all denominations; the objects of the other (1811) are sufficiently indicated by its cumbrous title, "The National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church." The Whig Ministry in 1833, finding that only one quarter of the children in the land received any schooling, made a grant to help these societies in their work. The original grant was only £20,000 per annum, but it led six years later to an increase, to the beginning of a system of inspection by the State, and to ever-growing conflicts as to what should be the "religious" teaching supported by public money.

494. Ashley's Factory Act, 1833.—The other Act of 1833 which inaugurated a new departure by the State sprang from humanitarian motives similar to those which brought about the abolition of slavery, but affected the home country more directly. At the instance of Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, an Act was passed forbidding the employment in factories of children under nine years of age, and limiting the work-time of "children" (between 9 and 13) to forty-eight hours per week, and that of "young persons" (between 13 and 18) to sixty-nine hours a week. Somewhat similar measures had, it is true, been passed in 1802 and 1819; but this "*Third*" *Factory Act* differed from its predecessors in being general—not merely confined to cotton mills—and in establishing special inspectors to see that its provisions were carried out. The Education Grant and the *Factory Act* mark the beginning of the reaction against the unrestricted "liberty" advocated by the Whigs—the reaction which has had such triumphs in our own day, and which, under the name of state-socialism, aims at diminishing individual liberty in the name of the welfare of the community.

495. Reconstruction of the Ministry under Melbourne, 1834.—In the summer of 1834 differences on Irish questions led to the reconstruction of the Ministry. Immediately after the passing of the *Roman Catholic Emancipation Act* (1829), Daniel O'Connell had transferred his genius for political agitation to fresh fields: he had begun to work for the repeal of the Union and to release the Roman Catholic peasantry from paying tithes for the support of a Church to which they did not belong. In the years 1830-1832 the struggle was so keen that practically no tithe could be collected in Ireland; and the question was one of the first that faced the Whig Ministry after the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832. In 1833 they passed a *Church Temporalities Act*, which gave to the State the control of Irish Church funds with a view to their better

management. Incidentally, the question arose what was to be done with a possible surplus: should it be used simply for ecclesiastical purposes, or should it be "appropriated" to such objects as education? This new question of "appropriation" became more important in Brito-Irish parliamentary politics than the tithe question, out of which it arose. In May Stanley, Ripon, and others resigned because they objected to a proposal to reduce the temporal possessions of the "Church of Ireland"; and in July Earl Grey followed their example. As Peel declined to take office, the remnants of Grey's Ministry were reorganised under Lord Melbourne, formerly Home Secretary under Grey.

496. Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834.—Melbourne's four months' ministry was memorable only for the passing of the *Poor Law Amendment Act.* Owing to the extension of the practice of supplementing wages out of the rates by means of outdoor relief, more than one-seventh of the population had become paupers, and the cost of administering the Poor Law had mounted to nearly £9,000,000, entailing a charge of over 10s. per head of the population. The new law returned to the Elizabethan tradition of distinguishing sharply between the destitute poor and the professional loafer, requiring the latter to do a definite amount of work in return for a definite amount of relief; and it at once lessened and more fairly distributed the cost of administration by requiring adjacent parishes to enter into "unions" and to submit their accounts to a department of the Central Government. In three years the amount spent on Poor Relief fell by nearly £3,000,000; and this pecuniary gain was accompanied by a marked moral improvement in the poorer classes.

497. Peel's First Ministry, December 1834-April 1835.—In November 1834 the death of Earl Spencer involved the transfer of his son Lord Althorpe to the House of Lords. Believing that no member of the Ministry could take Althorpe's place as leader of the House of Commons,

William IV. dismissed Melbourne and sent for Wellington, who advised the nomination of Peel as Prime Minister. Peel hastened back from Rome and undertook the task, giving the Foreign Office to Wellington, and a minor post to William Ewart Gladstone, whom a few years later Macaulay described as the "rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories." Peel at once dissolved Parliament and formulated in his *Tamworth Manifesto* a programme of quiet reform which distinguished his new "Conservative" party from the frigid Tories out of whom it had grown. The new House of Commons contained a Whig majority; and after two months' struggle Peel had to abandon for the present his attempt to carry on the government. The whole episode is chiefly important for showing that, though William IV. was personally popular as "the Sailor King," the Kingship had no longer the same predominant weight in the Constitution that it had had in 1784 or 1807.

498. The Municipal Reform Act, 1835.—Melbourne returned to office with most of his former colleagues, except the unruly intriguer, Lord Brougham, who had been Lord Chancellor in his former administration; Lord John Russell was Home Secretary, and Lord Palmerston was Foreign Secretary. Though still weak and divided, the Ministry continued to do useful work during the two years left to it before the death of William IV. in June 1837. In June 1835 Lord John Russell introduced a *Municipal Reform Act* which authorised the substitution of uniform representative government in towns for the various forms of government that existed in consequence of the varied developments of mediaeval boroughs and Stuart interferences therewith. The new boroughs were to be ruled by town councils elected by all male ratepayers who had resided in the town for three years; in order to keep the government respectable, a property qualification was required for town councillors; and in order to keep the government steady and continuous, the councillors

were to choose aldermen who were to hold office for six years (twice as long as the ordinary councillor). The Act was gradually adopted in most large centres of population—except the City of London, which still retains its ancient constitution, slightly modified—and everywhere the new councils set themselves to improve the conditions of the towns.

499. Various Reforms in 1836.—In 1836 the House of Commons showed how it had outgrown the exclusiveness of its eighteenth century predecessors by beginning to publish its division-lists and by reducing the newspaper tax to one penny. In 1836 also a body of Ecclesiastical Commissioners was incorporated by Parliament to manage large parts of the revenues of the Church of England, and especially to adapt their distribution to the new needs. But most significant of Whig policy were the Bills passed in 1836 to diminish the friction between the established clergy and the Nonconformists. Registration of births and deaths was wholly secularised; that of marriages was to be made by the minister performing the ceremony and transmitted to the Registrar if the minister were of the Established Church; if not, the marriage could be solemnised in the Nonconformist building in presence of the Registrar. Tithes could also be commuted for rent charges, a permission which was almost everywhere used. Similar to these Bills in object was the combination of University College, an "undenominational" institution founded in 1827, with King's College, an Anglican establishment founded in 1829, to form a University of London empowered to grant degrees to any persons passing purely intellectual tests. This was a sop to the Nonconformists to console them for their failure to gain full admission to the older Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

500. Beginnings of the Oxford Movement, 1833-1837.—The attitude of the Whigs towards the various questions connected with both the Irish and the Anglican Churches—

an attitude which was meant to express impartiality but which struck many people as being the outcome of sheer indifference—was one of the causes leading during the third decade of the nineteenth century to a great Anglican revival. This revival is variously known from its place of origin as "the Oxford Movement," and from its method (begun in 1834) of appealing to the public by means of Tracts as "the Tractarian Movement." Its leaders—John Keble, John Henry Newman, and Edward Pusey, all of Oxford, and Hugh James Rose of Cambridge—stoutly asserted the essentially spiritual nature of the Church, maintained its independence of the State, and traced the authority of its officials not to the State but to the Founder of Christianity by means of the apostolical succession of its ordained priests and bishops. The Tractarians laid more stress on the claims of the Church of England to be a branch of the Catholic Church than on its Protestant aspects; and in the long run some of their ablest men—especially Newman and Manning—joined the Church of Rome. Like their Evangelical predecessors, Wesley and Simeon, they threw themselves with great zeal into the work of preaching the Gospel to the masses of the uneducated poor.

501. Palmerston and Mediterranean Questions, 1833-1837.—Meanwhile Palmerston had been continuing to act in harmony with France in various questions that had arisen in the Mediterranean; and the friendly relations of the two Channel Powers had been answered by the Conference of Münchengrätz, in September 1833, when the three Eastern Powers drew closer together to resist the infection of their own spheres of influence with the Liberal principles of their late Allies. The chief spheres of Palmerston's activity were the Peninsula and the Levant. In both Spain and Portugal there were dynastic disputes between young queens (who owed their position to the setting aside of the "Salic Law") and rather unpleasant uncles, Don Carlos and Dom Miguel

respectively, who put themselves at the head of the reactionary clerical parties. In April 1834 France and Great Britain formed with the existing Governments of Spain and Portugal a *Quadruple Alliance* to drive the pretenders from the Peninsula, and for a moment they were successful. In the previous year France and Great Britain had helped Mehemet Ali of Egypt to obtain Syria by the *Treaty of Kutaya* (§ 481); and the Sultan Mahmoud had retorted by making a *Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi* with Russia, whereby the latter acquired an exclusive right of navigating the Dardanelles in time of war. Great Britain and France joined in a formal protest against this treaty, and some years later took steps to enforce their protest (§ 515).

502. Territorial Extension of British India, 1805-1828.— French action in Mediterranean questions was partly determined by the fact that since 1830 France had been engaged in the conquest of Algeria, while British action was still more fully influenced by the proposed revival of the Mediterranean route to India. Since the recall of the Marquess Wellesley (§ 450), British power in India had spread in many directions. Territorial extension had been made chiefly under the governorships of Lord Moira, created in 1816 Marquess of Hastings (1814-1823), and Earl Amherst (1823-1828). In 1815 the Ghúrkas of Nepál had been chastised for their raids into the Ganges Valley; in 1817 the Pindarís of Malwá had been not only chastised but suppressed for their freebooting in Central India; and the Third Maráthá War of 1817-1818 had resulted in the annexation of Maráthá lands to the Bombay Presidency and to the Central Provinces. Hastings thus consolidated British dominion in India itself: his successor, Amherst, was rather bent on the protection of that dominion from external attack. The First Burmese War (1824-1826) resulted in the *Treaty of Yandabu*, whereby the King of Ava ceded Assam along the Brahmaputra, and the maritime provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim.

503. Administrative Changes in British India, 1828-1835.—Meanwhile the idea that India was a place to be exploited by British merchants and officials was beginning to be more and more modified by the ideal of governing India for the good of its inhabitants. This new phase is especially associated with the governorship of Lord William Bentinck (1828-1835). He did his best to crush the two Hindu practices which had hitherto been winked at by the Company because of their religious basis: *satí*, the self-cremation of widows, was declared culpable homicide; and *thagí*, the strangling of wayfarers in honour of the goddess Kalí, was gradually suppressed. Increased facilities were given to Christian missionaries; education was further endowed; and more openings in the Company's service were found for educated natives. During Bentinck's rule also the Company ceased to be distinctively commercial. In 1813, when its Charter had been revised, the Company had been deprived of its monopoly of Indian trade and had received a Government guarantee on its stock: in 1833 it was deprived of its monopoly of the China trade, and became a purely administrative concern which was little more than a distinct department of the British Government.

KEY
British Possessions 1784
" " 1804
" " 1837
Protectorate 1784
" 1837
INDIA
shewing the growth of British Possessions down to 1837.
English Miles
0 100 200 300
HIMALAYA Mountains
RAJPUTANA
OUDH
MARÁTHA STATES
DOMINIONS of the NIZAM
DOMINIONS of HAIDAR ALI
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
Malabar Coast
Coromandel Coast
CEYLON
Laccadive Islands
Maldivo Islands
Andaman Islands
Bombay
Goa
Masulipatam
Madras
Pondichery
Karikal
Cochin
Colombo
Kandy
Trinkomali
Delhi
Lucknow
Agra
Ajmir
Patna
Calcutta
Nagpur
Aurungabad
Haidarabad
Seringapatam
Tanjore
Cape Comorin
Gulf of Manaar
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Gujarat
Surat
Jaipur
Jodpur
Cuttack
Chandernagore
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Patiala
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Visagapatam
Pondicherry
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Porto Novo
Wandewash
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Mangalore
Calicut
Cochin
Travancore
Tinnevelly
Ramnad
Tanjore
Trichinopoly
Dindigul
Coimbatore
Carnatic
Mysore
Canara
Bijapur
Kolapore
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Salsette
Bassein
Surat
Broach
Baroda
Cambay
Ahmedabad
Cutch
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BOOK IV.

THE VICTORIAN AGE, 1837-1901.

INTRODUCTION.

504. Retrospect, 1793-1837.—In our last book we saw Great Britain involved in two great struggles, each of which was intimately connected with the vast economic changes summed up under the phrase "the Industrial Revolution." During the years 1793-1815 Great Britain successfully maintained her right to exist, and even to extend her power by land and sea, against the opposition of various governments in France, which, however different from one another in other things, had a common characteristic in hostility to Great Britain. During the peaceful years which followed, 1815-1837, Great Britain was generally occupied with the various troubles—economic and political—arising at home and abroad out of the Great War. Again during the whole of this period the care of British statesmen was almost entirely confined to the British Isles; they showed themselves embarrassed rather than interested by the dependencies beyond the seas, which, despite this indifference, increased almost automatically in extent and importance. In the Victorian Age, which forms the subject of our closing book, however, we shall find imperial questions gradually rising almost to a level with purely domestic questions in the thoughts of British statesmen and citizens; and at the opening of the twentieth century it begins to seem possible that an imperial patriotism may ultimately dominate the various provincial patriotisms existing within the British Empire.

505. Period Divisions of the Victorian Era, 1837-1901.—In studying the history of modern times we are overwhelmed

by the complexity and mass of events happening in a wider area than in former times came within the view of Europeans; we are also hampered in both the selection and the criticism of our facts by our nearness to the events described. In the following account of the Victorian Age we shall continue to adopt a roughly chronological order, even though that method involves sudden jumps from one end of the earth to the other; but before proceeding to the chronological narrative we shall endeavour to give a connected view of some of the leading topics of interest.

Our narrative will fall into four periods: in the first (1837-1846) Sir Robert Peel was gradually driven, not by the Chartist agitation, but by his own strong commonsense, to adopt the policy embodied in the "Repeal of the Corn Laws"; our second period (1846-1865), which includes the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, is dominated by the personality and policy of Lord Palmerston; our third period (1865-1885) is mainly occupied with the rivalry between Disraeli and Gladstone about parliamentary reform, education, the relations of Church and State, Irish, Turkish, and Indian questions, and a variety of other matters; and our fourth period (1885-1901), though partly occupied by a premature and partial attempt to dissolve the so-called "United Kingdom," is mainly filled with the scramble for Africa, in the course of which Great Britain is involved in wars in both North and South Africa, and ultimately emerges triumphant.

506. Europe during the Victorian Era, 1837-1901.—Among the more notable features in the history of Europe during the Victorian Era were (1) the extension of the principle of Nationality; (2) the creation of armed nations equipped with weapons of precision; and (3) the Colonial Renascence which has caused nearly all the states of Europe to indulge in colonial ambitions. Before the accession of Queen Victoria, the principle of Nationality had already been

successfully asserted by the Greeks (1821-1833) and by the Belgians; and during the earlier part of her reign it was further asserted by the establishment of an Italian Kingdom in 1861, and a German Empire in 1871. But the principle of Nationality seems to have seen its best days. It is not yet clear whether the Italian national kingdom will be able to hold its own against the open hostility of the Roman Church, which had successfully hindered Italian unity for a thousand years; and it is clear that the principle of Nationality has failed in the Balkans, in Ireland, and in South Africa.

Small peoples have much less chance of asserting or maintaining their independence owing to the growth in the greater states of huge armies levied by conscription, and armed with weapons which are in every way more effective than those used in the Great War. The inventive skill which early in the century revolutionised the industrial arts of manufacture and transport has later been applied to the military art; and the great preservative of peace has come to be the fear of using, in actual war, an untried armoury of destructive machines. During the last twenty years or so the states of Europe have diverted their activity from mutual wars to the easier and safer pursuit of exploiting the backward peoples of the earth; and the result of this development is that, whereas in 1815 the only colonial states of Europe were Great Britain, Holland, Spain, and Russia, in 1900 France, Germany, Italy, and the United States have been added to the number of competitors. One of the great questions of the twentieth century will be whether the increased contact between white and coloured peoples will have good or evil results on both parties.

507. Economic Features of the Victorian Era.—One of the motives of this colonial activity of the European Powers has been the desire to secure markets for the goods manufactured in the home country. In this sphere of work there

have been two conflicting ideals—the international ideal of "Free Trade," and the national ideal of "Protection." Some have advocated the breaking down of economic barriers (customs-dues and the like) between different countries, in the hope that free und unrestricted competition would enable the inhabitants of each country to obtain, without let or hindrance, what they needed from the countries which could supply best their needs. Others have advocated the policy of breaking down economic barriers inside states, but raising them against all foreigners in order to make each state as self-sufficing as possible, and to protect it from becoming dependent on others.

About the middle of the nineteenth century, at a time when many believed that a state of universal peace and brotherhood was both possible and desirable, Great Britain adopted a policy of Free Trade in the interests of her manufacturing population; and this policy she has ever since maintained. It was confidently expected by the champions of Free Trade that the rest of the civilised world would imitate the economic, as they were already imitating the political, ideals of Great Britain; and in 1851 a Great Exhibition was held in London to teach the world the beauties and delights of Peace and British Industrial Supremacy. Most other states, however,—even the self-governing Colonies of Great Britain—have adopted a policy of Protection; and it is not yet clear that in consequence their inhabitants are poorer or less contented than those of the British Isles. The improved facilities for communication (by cheap posts, telegraphs, and telephones) and transport (by railway and steamer) have diminished the physical obstacles to intercourse between different parts of the earth, but have increased rather than lessened the moral obstacles raised by mutual jealousies and conflicting interests.

508. Political Features of the Victorian Era.—The middle third of the nineteenth century, when the dream of "universal

peace" among the "nations" was most prevalent amongst earnest men, was also the flourishing period of "democracy" —the idea of "government *of* the people *by* the people *for* the people," as it was expressed by one of the great men of the century, Abraham Lincoln. During the latter part of the century the notion that democratic rule must necessarily be better in its results than monarchic or aristocratic rule has almost disappeared; but on the other hand the adoption of democratic principles, as the only possible basis of government, has been general among English-speaking peoples.

In purely insular politics the great landmarks of the period are the *Parliamentary Reform Acts* of 1832, 1867, and 1884-1885, and the successive reforms of Local Government on representative lines in the Borough (1835), the Shire (1888), and the Parish (1895). In imperial politics the great landmarks have been the grant of responsible self-government to all the great colonies situated in temperate climates—to Canada in 1840, to the principal Australian Colonies at intervals between 1850 and 1890, and to Cape Colony in 1872. For various reasons Ireland and India have not yet been treated in the same way.

509. Colonial Expansion during the Victorian Era.—The relations between Great Britain and her Colonies underwent during the Victorian Era and are still undergoing interesting transformations, the end of which it would be rash to prophesy. The general nature of the change has been this: Mother Country and Colonies, instead of regarding one another as necessary evils, have come to regard one another as linked by common sentiments and common interests against the rest of the world. At the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign her most important dependencies were India and the West Indies; and few suspected that the fringe of settlements in Canada, South Africa, and Australia would grow into vast territories, both populous and prosperous, and would develop various types of British citizen different from

one another and from the provincial types in the British Isles themselves. Still less could anyone have imagined that "the Dark Continent" of Africa would be not only explored, largely by Britons, but also portioned out among Europeans, among whom the British would be not the least successful. None the less the British Empire has grown continuously; and whereas at Victoria's accession it embraced only one-sixth of the land-surface of the globe, it had swollen to one-quarter before her death.

So far this vast aggregation of lands and peoples gives more promise of holding together than of falling to pieces. In the palmy days of the little peoples—about the middle of the nineteenth century—it seemed only "natural" that the Colonies would assert their independence as they grew up; but in these latter days the alternative to association on equal terms with Great Britain has seemed to be not independence but subordination to some other Power, and there is accordingly a tendency to the adoption by the British peoples of some form of "Imperial Federation."

CHAPTER XV.

PEEL AND THE CORN LAWS, 1837-1846.

A. PERSONAL HISTORY.—Alexandrina Victoria, only child of Edward, Duke of Kent (*d.* 1820), fourth son of George III., and Victoria Mary Louisa of Saxe-Coburg, was born at Kensington Palace, May 24, 1819; succeeded William IV. as Queen of Great Britain and Ireland (her uncle Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, becoming King of Hanover), June 20, 1837; crowned at Westminster, June 28, 1838; married, February 10, 1840, her cousin Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (*d.* December 14, 1861), by whom she had four sons and five daughters; proclaimed Empress of India, at Delhi, January 1, 1877; died January 22, 1901; buried in the Frogmore Mausoleum, near Windsor; succeeded by her eldest son, Albert Edward—the first British monarch of the House of Wettin—who took the title of "Edward VII." For family connections see Table, p. 58.

B. CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

PAPACY.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	ITALY.	AUSTRIA.	PRUSSIA.	RUSSIA.
Gregory XVI. (1831)	Louis Philippe (1830)	Isabella II. (1833-1868)	Victor Emmanuel II. of Sardinia (1849), of Italy (1861)	Ferdinand I. (1835)	Frederick William III. (1797)	Nicholas I. (1825)
Pius IX. (1846)	Second Republic (1848)	Amadeus I. (1870-1873)	Humbert (1878)	Francis Joseph (1848)	Frederick William IV. (1840)	Alexander II. (1855)
Leo XIII. (1878)	Napoleon III. Emp. (1852)	Alfonso XII. (1874)			William I. (1861)	
	Third Republic (1870)	Alfonso XIII. (1886)	Victor Emmanuel III. (1900)		German Emp. (1871)	
					Frederick III. (1888)	Alexander III. (1881)
					William II. (1888)	Nicholas II. (1894)

C. TOPICS OF THE PERIOD.

(i) **International**: *relations with*—
- (1) France: § 515.
- (2) Austria: § 515.
- (3) Turkey: § 515.
- (4) Russia: §§ 515, 516.
- (5) Afghanistan: §§ 516, 517, 519.
- (6) China: § 517.

(ii) **Constitutional.**
- (1) Ministers: §§ 510, 518, 521.
- (2) Corn Laws: §§ 511, 512, 521.
- (3) Scotland: § 520.
- (4) Ireland: §§ 520, 521.
- (5) South Africa: §§ 511, 514.
- (6) Canada: §§ 511, 513.

I. End of Melbourne's Ministry, 1837-1841.

510. Character of Queen Victoria.—William IV. was succeeded in Hanover (where the "Salic Law" prevailed) by his brother Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, and in his British dominions by his niece Victoria, a girl of eighteen. She had been brought up by her widowed mother in a quiet and healthy manner; and her modest and dignified demeanour at once gained all hearts. After her accession, her political education was continued first by Lord Melbourne, whose only claim to the name of statesman lies in the careful and tactful training which he gave to the young Queen, and afterwards by her cousin and husband, Albert of Saxe-Coburg, whom she married in 1840, and who overcame British jealousy so far as to receive the title of Prince Consort in 1857. Under these circumstances Queen Victoria acquired the difficult and novel art of governing as a "constitutional monarch," and gradually weaned her subjects completely from the sentimental preference for republicanism which was common in the early part of her reign. It seems to be generally allowed that the well-known eulogy of Victoria prefixed to Tennyson's poems expresses the truth and is not mere courtly and poetical flattery.

511. Early Troubles of Victoria's Reign.—The political outlook at Victoria's accession was far from bright. At home the Ministry was weak and helpless in face of the discontent which expressed itself in the Chartist movement and the Anti-Corn-Law League; as to the Colonies, Canada and South Africa were on the verge of rebellion; and the necessity of guarding India was giving rise to serious difficulties in Afghánistán, China, and the Levant. Almost the only pleasant feature in her opening years was the adoption in 1839 of Rowland Hill's scheme for the transmission of inland letters at the uniform charge of one penny prepaid. The substitution of low rates for high rates of postage had similar

effects to the previous substitution of low customs dues for high customs dues, in increasing both the revenue of the State and the conveniences of its subjects. Cheap postage was rendered easier by the growth of railways and steamships; and in 1838-1840 it began to be supplemented by the use of the electric telegraph.

512. British Social Discontent, 1837-1841.—The various reforms, legislative and administrative, political and economic, of the thirties (ch. xiv.) had diminished but not removed the causes of social discontent in Britain. As a matter of fact, a considerable proportion of the inhabitants could not earn enough money to buy sufficient food to keep themselves alive, still less to live in comfort. In 1838 two distinct methods of dealing with this difficulty were definitely put forward. Some believed that, if "the people" had more political power, they would be able to put an end to their troubles, and they therefore drew up a *People's Charter*, advocating annual Parliaments, manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, equal electoral districts, abolition of property qualifications for members of parliament, and payment of members.

Some of the Chartists, led by Feargus O'Connor, wished to carry out their views by persuasion, and were therefore known as "Moral Force Chartists"; while others thought that the middle classes could be moved only by violence, and were therefore known as "Physical Force Chartists." In 1839 the latter party got up serious riots in Newport, South Wales, and elsewhere. About the same time there was formed an association with the object of procuring a reduction in the price of food, not by the circuitous method of political reforms, but by the direct method of getting the Corn Laws repealed. In 1839 an Anti-Corn-Law League was formed in Manchester by Richard Cobden and Charles Villiers, both Lancashire men; and a few years later these were joined by John Bright, whose great gifts of speech proved of much service to the cause.

513. Canada and Lord Durham's Report, 1837-1840.—The troubles which broke out in Canada in 1837 were due partly to the continuance of friction between French Roman Catholics and British Protestants, and partly to the constitutional limitations under which the legislative assemblies of the two provinces had been placed by the Act of 1791. In 1838 Lord Durham was sent out with full powers to deal with the difficulty. He promptly suppressed rebellion and drew up a report advocating the union of the provinces under a single governor, ruling with the advice of the leaders of a representative assembly. These Liberal recommendations of Lord Durham and his dictatorial conduct in dealing with "rebels" exposed him respectively to the attacks of his Tory opponents and his Whig friends; and he was literally "worried to death" in less than two years after his high appointment. His report was, however, to a large extent adopted; and its first-fruits were the passing of the *Canada Act of Union* in 1840. This measure was the first of a long series of Acts granting full powers of self-government to such Colonies as seemed able and desirous to take the responsibility out of the hands of the distant officials in Downing Street.

514. The Great Trek of the Boers, 1835-1843.—The contemporary troubles in South Africa arose mainly out of the Abolition of Slavery in 1833, and took the form not of rebellion but of removal. The Dutch farmers or Boers in Cape Colony believed that they had rights over the natives similar to those which the Hebrew patriarchs claimed over "the Canaanites that dwelt in the land"; and they bitterly resented the partiality shown by the British missionaries and by the Home Government towards "persons with black skins and savage habits." Unable to turn the Government from its purposes they resolved to seek greater "liberty" in the wilderness; and in 1835 there began the Great Trek, resulting in the foundation of settlements north of the Orange

River and in Natal. Sir George Napier, the Governor of Cape Colony in 1838, explicitly denied that the Boers could by emigration "be absolved from their allegiance as British subjects"; and in 1843 he took formal possession of Natal—where the Boers had been involved in serious struggles with the Zulu inhabitants.

515. Palmerston's Second Quadruple Alliance, 1840.—In 1839 there broke out a fresh war between the Sultan of Turkey and the Pasha of Egypt which revealed a temporary disagreement between Great Britain and France. Palmerston believed that it was possible to make Turkey a strong Power capable of efficient government at home and of keeping Russia at bay: the ministers of Louis Philippe were for the time being more disposed to favour Mehemet Ali. Hence in 1840 Palmerston entered into an alliance, not with France but with Austria, Prussia, and Russia, for settling "the Eastern Question" of the day. Russia agreed to abandon her exclusive rights to navigate the Dardanelles; and Mehemet Ali was impelled—partly by Sir Charles Napier's bombardment of Acre—to withdraw from Syria and accept instead the hereditary pashalik of Egypt. For a moment it seemed possible that the quarrel between France and Great Britain might deepen into war; but in 1840 Louis Philippe dismissed the bellicose Thiers and gave his post to the more pacific Guizot; and in 1841 Palmerston was superseded by a less aggressive Foreign Minister, Lord Aberdeen.

516. The First Afghan War, 1838-1842.—While Great Britain was co-operating with Russia in the Near East, she was exhibiting her suspicions of that Power in the Far East. In 1838 Dost Muhammad Khán, Amír of Afghánistán, received a Russian mission at his capital, Kábul; and Lord Auckland, the Governor-General in India (1836-1842), at once replied by declaring war and invading Afghánistán to set up a friendly prince, Sháh Shúja, as Amír. In 1839 British troops captured Kandahar, Ghazni, and Kábul and

established Sháh Shúja. In the early days of 1842 the small British force was compelled to abandon Kábul; and out of sixteen thousand troops and camp-followers who began the retreat only one, Dr. Brydon, reached Jellalabad alive. This disaster was avenged by Sale and Pollock; but in the end the new Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, deemed it expedient to leave Dost Muhammad in possession of the throne. This was the first and most disastrous of many British adventures on the North-West Frontier of India.

517. First Chinese War, 1839-1842.—While thus being involved in political troubles to the west of India, Great Britain was being dragged into commercial troubles to the east of India by the pushfulness of the merchants. The abolition of the monopoly of the East India Company in the Chinese trade in 1833 had led to a great increase in the traffic with that country. The Chinese authorities disapproved of the influx of western barbarians and especially of their importing opium; and in 1839 they seized £6,000,000 worth of opium, the property of British merchants in China. The result was a war in which the Chinese were defeated; and by the *Treaty of Nan-King*, 1842, China paid an indemnity for the opium and for the cost of the war, threw open Canton and four other "treaty-ports" to British trade, and ceded the island of Hong-Kong. On this barren island there sprang up a town, named Victoria, which became the chief emporium of the trade between China and Europe. Already in 1819 Sir Stamford Raffles had obtained for Great Britain in Singapore a valuable half-way house between India or Ceylon and China; and in 1839 British troops had occupied Aden, which proved an almost equally useful port of call on the eastern portion of the overland route to India, *via* Egypt, which was now again coming into active use.

II. Peel's Second Ministry, 1841-1846.

518. Fall of the Melbourne Ministry, 1841.—Before the close of the Afghán and the Chinese Wars the Melbourne Ministry had ceased to exist. It had already stopped working for a moment in 1839, but had been started again because the Queen and Peel failed to come to terms on "the Bedchamber Question." Regarding the young Queen as particularly susceptible to the influence of her attendants, Peel insisted that the Whig ladies of the Royal Household should be removed; and failing to get his own way on the point, he refused to take office. In 1841 this domestic difficulty was solved by the voluntary resignation of the ladies involved. A General Election had resulted in the return of a strong Conservative majority; and Melbourne, being defeated on a question of Free Trade, gladly laid down the cares of office in August 1841. His most notable memorial is the town which bears his name, the capital of a colony named after his young mistress, a town which has become one of the finest in the Southern Hemisphere.

519. Indian Questions, 1841-1846.—During his second ministry Peel continued his work of effecting quiet reforms of an unsensational type; and the only striking events in the political history of his ministry are those connected with his conversion to Free Trade in corn. The period was marked by stirring events abroad. The Ashburton Treaty of 1842 with the United States delimited the boundaries of Maine in a manner which has permanently crippled schemes for an all-British route across North America: as in the later (1846) delimitation of the boundary of British North America further to the west the British representatives allowed themselves to be completely hoodwinked by the superior local knowledge of the American diplomatists. Meanwhile in the East Sir Charles Napier conquered and annexed Sindh, on the lower Indus, in 1842; and in 1845-1846 the Sikhs

who dwelt higher up the Indus basin made war in order to stave off the same fate from themselves. The Sikhs proved at this time to be the most formidable of the native opponents of British rule in India, as later they came to be its firmest supporters. In December 1845 Sir Hugh Gough won a battle at Moodkee; in January 1846 Sir Harry Smith gained another victory a little further north at Aliwal; and in February the two generals together achieved a crowning triumph at Sobraon. In consequence of these defeats, the Sikhs were compelled to admit a British resident (Sir Henry Lawrence) into their capital at Lahore.

520. Scottish and Irish Questions, 1842-1846.—Nearer home Peel's ministry witnessed notable developments in Scotland and Ireland. In Scotland the old standing discontent with the system of lay patronage which had been imposed on the Scottish Church by English Tories in 1712 culminated in 1843 in the formation, by Dr. Chalmers, of the "Free Church of Scotland." This "Disruption" split the National Church of Scotland into two almost equal parts, and thereby did much to prevent Scottish Presbyterianism from bulking so largely in the eyes of the lay observer as English Episcopalianism. The Disruption, however, like the contemporary Oxford Movement, was a sign of growing interest in ecclesiastical and religious questions. Meanwhile Ireland was undergoing a kind of political disruption. Alongside of O'Connell there was springing up another school of Irish agitators, headed by Thomas Davis and Charles Gavan Duffy, and known as "Young Ireland," who believed that salvation for Ireland was to be found by adopting English methods of politics and industry. In 1843 the Government prohibited a monster meeting at Clontarf at which O'Connell was going to advocate the repeal of the Union; and O'Connell's acquiescence weakened his influence. The leaders of the Young Ireland movement did not get

much profit from the disappearance of their rival, because Ireland became absorbed in more pressing questions. In 1845 and 1846 the potato crop failed; the Irish peasantry perished wholesale by famine; and vast numbers escaped starvation only by emigration. During the years 1845-1850 the population of Ireland decreased by over two millions.

521. Repeal of the Corn Laws, 1846.—The Irish Famine made relief imperative; and the Government found that relief was made not only more costly but also more difficult through the prohibitive duties imposed on food stuffs under the Corn Laws of 1815 and following years. Towards the end of 1845 Peel announced his conversion to the principles of the Anti-Corn-Law League; but many of his colleagues refused to follow him in offending the agricultural classes to whom they mainly owed their parliamentary majority. Peel therefore resigned in December, but resumed office on Lord John Russell's failure to form a ministry; and in June he carried a measure gradually taking off the duties on imported corn. He carried his Bill only by the help of the Whigs, for many of the Conservatives, headed by Lord George Bentinck and Benjamin Disraeli, an eccentric young man of Jewish descent, bitterly resented Peel's change of front. A few days later Peel's old allies and his new ones alike deserted him on an Irish Coercion Bill; and being defeated, he resigned office. He had saved many human lives by his concession of cheap corn, but he had for the time being wrecked the Conservative party; and for the next twenty years the Whigs enjoyed an almost unbroken spell of power (ch. xvi.).

CHAPTER XVI.

PALMERSTON AND DERBY, 1846-1865.

A. Personal History of Victoria. } See Chapter XV.
B. Contemporary Rulers. }

C. Topics of the Period.

(i) **International**: *relations with*—
(1) France: §§ 522, 524, 525, 532-535, 541.
(2) Russia: §§ 532-535, 541.
(3) Turkey: §§ 532-535.
(4) Sardinia: §§ 524, 534, 541.
(5) Switzerland: § 522.
(6) Burma: § 531.
(7) Persia: § 536.
(8) China: § 536.
(9) United States: § 542.

(ii) **Constitutional.**
(1) Ministers: §§ 522, 525, 527, 528, 534, 539, 540.
(2) Domestic Events: §§ 523, 526, 540, 542.
(3) Parliamentary Reform: §§ 539, 540.
(4) Ireland: §§ 523, 524.
(5) Australia: § 528.
(6) South Africa: § 530.
(7) India: §§ 531, 536-538.

I. Russell, Derby, and Aberdeen, 1846-1855.

522. The Spanish Marriages, 1846.—Sir Robert Peel was succeeded as Prime Minister by Lord John Russell, who formed an administration consisting mainly of Whigs, but with Lord Palmerston as Foreign Secretary. Palmerston's restoration to office caused almost immediately a return to the unfriendly relations with France which had marked the close of his previous term of office. While Aberdeen was in charge of foreign affairs, Victoria and Louis Philippe had exchanged visits, and the relations between the two states had been friendly, and even intimate. In 1845 Louis Philippe had promised that his younger son, the Duke of Montpensier, should not marry the Infanta of Spain until her sister, Queen Isabella II., had an heir: this promise had been made because British politicians of Victoria's reign,

like their predecessors in Anne's reign, disliked contemplating the possibility of the personal union of France and Spain. In October 1846, shortly after Palmerston had succeeded Aberdeen, Louis Philippe broke his promises and procured the simultaneous marriages of the Spanish sisters. Palmerston could not prevent the marriage; but he took his revenge in the following year by checkmating French schemes of intervention in Switzerland—then engaged in the civil war of the Sonderbund, which ended in the establishment of the enlightened democratic and federal constitution of that country. In the long run, the schemes of Louis Philippe to increase the prestige of his family by the Spanish Marriages not only failed but helped to bring about his sudden and complete overthrow in 1848.

523. Young Ireland and the Chartists, 1846-1848.—Meanwhile Russell's Ministry had been much harassed by the various Irish questions which had given Peel much trouble, but which he had handled in a spirit of sympathy and firmness quite exceptional in an English politician. In the first place, both the potato famine and the disorder which arose partly out of the famine continued; and in 1847 the Government met these difficulties by making a grant of £10,000,000 for relief and by passing a new Coercion Act. The money was so ill-administered that it did little either to save life or to check the discontent increased by the measures of repression; and in 1848 a short-lived rebellion broke out under Smith O'Brien, the leader of the more violent section of the "Young Ireland" movement. In the same year there was an equally abortive "rising" in England. Feargus O'Connor declared his intention of marching at the head of half a million men from Kennington to Westminster to present the *People's Charter* (§ 512) to the House of Commons; but his followers proved less enthusiastic than the special constables sworn in by the Government, and the great demonstration was a fiasco.

524. The Year of Revolutions, 1848-1849.—The Chartist demonstration in London, April 1848, and the Irish insurrection in July 1848 were amongst the most insignificant outbursts of that "year of revolutions." In February Louis Philippe was suddenly expelled from France for refusing to extend the franchise; and a Republic was set up which in December accepted Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, son of Napoleon's younger brother Louis, as its President. In March there broke out in Vienna, North Italy, Hungary, and various other parts of the dominions of the Emperor of Austria, rebellions which at first seemed likely to be successful, but which were put down in the course of a year or so. Further north, there were disturbances in Prussia, and in May a national parliament for the whole of Germany met at Frankfurt. The various revolutionary movements, whether constitutional or national in motive, were failures so far as their ostensible objects were concerned; their immediate results were the fall of the Austrian minister Metternich and the French King, Louis Philippe.

525. The Queen and Lord Palmerston 1850-1851.—These disturbances in Europe led to the establishment of an important constitutional principle in Great Britain. Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary, represented the views of the majority of his fellow-countrymen in disliking the two extremes of anarchy on the one side and despotism on the other, and was therefore popular with the mass of the nation. But his fondness for "making a hit off his own bat" (as he himself put it) annoyed both his colleagues and his royal mistress; and in 1850 some unguarded words of praise for Kossuth, the Magyar exile who was denouncing the Hungarian policy of the Austrian Emperor, brought on him a severe but deserved reprimand from the Queen. Her memorandum stated that she required Lord Palmerston to say distinctly what he proposed to do, and not to alter or modify proposals to which she had given her sanction, to

supply her with full accounts of what passed between him and the secretaries of the Powers, and to send her drafts of his letters early enough to enable her to make herself acquainted with their contents before they were sent off.

Palmerston accepted these rules, but soon afterwards again got into trouble. In December 1851 Louis Napoleon carried out a brutal and treacherous *coup d'état* in order to make permanent his presidency of the French Republic; and Palmerston incautiously expressed to the French Ambassador his private opinion that the President could not have done differently. This opinion being blazed abroad, Lord John Russell compelled Palmerston to resign, and gave his post to Earl Granville. Two months later, when Russell introduced a Bill to raise a force of militia against possible French aggression, Palmerston took his revenge by defeating Russell on a verbal amendment. Russell seized the opportunity to resign.

526. The Great Exhibition, 1851.—The most notable legislation of these years was Fielden's *Factory Act* of 1847, which limited the working day of women and children in factories to ten hours, the *Treason-Felony Act* of 1848, the repeal of the *Navigation Acts* in 1849, and Russell's *Ecclesiastical Titles Act*, 1852, which made it unlawful for Roman Catholic Bishops to use the territorial titles recently bestowed by Pope Pius IX. But the most representative event of the period was the Great Exhibition held in Hyde Park in 1851. This, the pioneer of many similar enterprises, was set on foot mainly through the influence of Prince Albert, and was intended to show the world the blessings of peace and to mark the close of wars among civilised states. Here the promoters were over-sanguine; but the popularity and success of the Exhibition as a spectacle illustrated the great changes which had been wrought in men's habits through the quickening and cheapening of the means of communication. The vast crowds which thronged the "Crystal Palace"

—as Paxton's glass and iron building has become known in its permanent site at Sydenham—could never have been brought together but for the steam locomotive. Railways had now passed beyond the stage of experiment, and had been patronised even by Conservatives like Wellington (who died in 1852) and by exalted personages like the Queen.

527. Lord Derby's First Ministry, February-December 1852.—There was some difficulty as to Russell's successor. Palmerston—who had begun political life as a moderate Tory, though he had since served with the Whigs—was not in a position to take the vacant place; the Peelite section of the Conservatives, never very numerous, had been still further weakened by the death of Peel in July 1850; and the only party left was the Protectionist wing of the Conservatives. Their original leader, Bentinck, had died in 1848; and their chiefs were now the Earl of Derby, who became First Lord of the Treasury and Premier, and Disraeli, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. A General Election resulted in a House of Commons in which the Ministry could obtain a majority over the Liberals only by throwing overboard its policy of Protection; and even so it was defeated in December, mainly in consequence of Gladstone's attacks on Disraeli's Budget.

528. Formation of the Aberdeen Coalition Ministry, December 1852.—On Derby's consequent resignation a Coalition Ministry was formed by Whigs and Peelites. The principal Peelites were Aberdeen and Gladstone, who became Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer respectively. The chief Whigs were Russell, who went to the Foreign Office, and Palmerston, who took the Home Office, jauntily remarking "that it was a good thing for a man to learn something about his fellow-countrymen." Disraeli had recently asserted that "England does not love coalitions"; and certainly England soon found that she had little cause to love this particular one. It was largely because of

differences of opinion within its ranks that the Ministry blundered into the Crimean War, which was its most notable exploit. But before we tell that story, it will be convenient to deal with various remarkable events that had happened oversea during the Russell-Derby periods.

529. Australian Colonies Act, 1850.—The year of the Great Exhibition was also marked by the discovery of gold in Australia; and this event had an even greater influence in increasing the population and wealth of the Australian Colonies than the previous introduction of sheep-farming on a large scale. In 1850 Russell's Ministry had passed an Act extending to most of these colonies methods of government similar to those which had been introduced into Canada ten years earlier, and which had there been successfully applied through the genius of Lord Elgin (1847-1854). This principle, known as responsible self-government, recognised that the needs of a distant community of British citizens were more likely to be known to themselves than to a frequently-changed official in Downing Street. Though the details varied at different times and places, the common feature was the concession of full parliamentary powers (including some control over the administration) to the colonial legislature, under the control of a Governor, appointed by the Crown and representative of the Crown, who, however, had to rule by the advice of ministers in whom the local legislature had confidence.

The new system was extended to New South Wales, founded in 1788; South Australia, founded on novel lines by Edward Gibbon Wakefield in 1836; and Victoria, separated from the mother-colony of New South Wales in 1850. Western Australia, founded in 1829, was still in too backward a state to be granted such full autonomy; and Van Diemen's Land—known after 1855 as Tasmania, from the name of its first discoverer—was still too full of convicts or ex-convicts, who had been shipped there in enormous numbers after New South

Wales ceased to receive them in 1840. New Zealand, which had been formally annexed in 1839, and which was and is wholly different in climate and population from Australia, received a constitution in 1852. Some people feared, and others hoped, that the new colonial system would result in the establishment of colonial independence; but the establishment in 1854 of a separate Secretaryship of State for the Colonies (administered by the Secretary of War since 1801) does not point to the conclusion that the Aberdeen Ministry expected the Colonies to "cut the painter" in the near future.

530. Troubles in South Africa, 1846-1854.—The interesting experiments of the Russell and Aberdeen Ministries in Australia had more fortunate consequences than their contemporary experiments in South Africa. British statesmen valued Cape Colony solely as a station on the road to India; they were acquainted with the difficulties (though not with their exact nature) caused by the presence of large numbers of natives and of Dutch farmers; and they were not yet acquainted with the mineral wealth of the interior. Naturally, therefore, they were anxious not to extend British territories and responsibilities in so unremunerative and troublesome a region; and they often preferred their own opinion, necessarily based on imperfect knowledge, to that of the "man on the spot." Now the Russell-Aberdeen period happened to be a time of "great proconsuls"—Elgin in Canada, Dalhousie in India, and Sir Harry Smith in South Africa.

Smith—who has left his mark on South African place-names—in 1848 annexed the region between the Orange and the Vaal rivers as the Orange River Sovereignty; and he defeated the minority among the emigrant Boers who, objecting to British rule, took up arms. Smith also brought to a successful conclusion wars against the Kaffirs and the Basutos, and successfully resisted the attempt of Lord Grey to use the Cape as a penal settlement. Before he left, however, he was

compelled to make the *Sand River Convention*, 1852, which recognised the complete independence of the Boers north of the river Vaal; and in 1854, after his departure, the *Convention of Bloemfontein* thrust similar independence upon the unwilling Boers who dwelt between the Transvaal and Basutoland. The South African Republic and the Orange Free State were destined to give much trouble to the successors of the British Ministers who had thus light-heartedly given them legal sanction.

531. Dalhousie's Governor-Generalship in India, 1848-1856.—Lord Dalhousie was more fortunate than Sir Harry Smith in being less subject to the intervention of the Home Government; and his Governor-Generalship in India is one of the great landmarks of British dominion in the East. In many ways he combined the excellences of Wellesley, the territorial expander, and Bentinck, the social reformer, of British India. His chief work as a social reformer consisted in the strenuous suppression of corrupt or ineffective government, whether in British India proper or in the protected states, and in the inauguration of great public works, such as canals and railways. His principal annexations, made partly for purposes of frontier defence and partly to secure better government, were the Punjab (1849), Pegu (1852), and Oudh (1856). The Punjab, annexed after the Sikhs had been defeated in hard-fought battles at Chillianwallah and Gújrat, was organised by the brothers John and Henry Lawrence in such a way that the Sikhs proved the staunchest allies of Great Britain in the trying period of the Mutiny. The annexation of Pegu, at the close of the Second Burmese War, established the Company on the lower Irrawady; and the transfer of the rich province of Oudh from a debauched Nawáb to the Company strengthened British hold on the Ganges basin and bettered the condition of the inhabitants. It also helped unfortunately to bring on the Mutiny (§ 535).

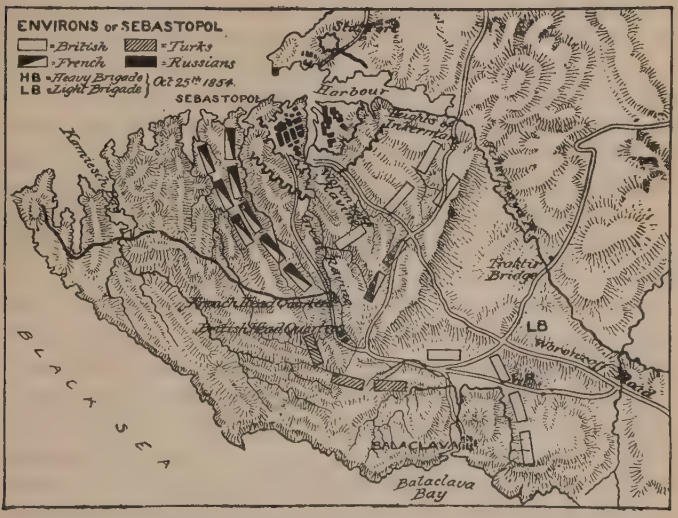
II. The Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, 1854-1858.

532. The Eastern Question, 1852-1854.—The weakness of the Aberdeen Ministry and the strength of its Indian representative, Lord Dalhousie, led to events in the East and the Far East which form the most conspicuous features in British history between the Napoleonic and the Boer Wars. In the Near East, the Ministry drifted into war with Russia; in the Far East, Dalhousie's successors had to deal with the most dangerous of all the Indian risings; but fortunately for Great Britain these two troubles were not simultaneous.

The Russian War arose primarily out of the desire of Russia to increase her hold on Turkey, and out of the desire of Louis Napoleon—who had become Emperor of the French under the title of Napoleon III. in 1852—to strengthen his position by a brilliant foreign policy. The actual occasion of the War was provided by ecclesiastical disputes which it is an insult to religion to call "religious." There were long-standing quarrels between Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic monks as to the custody of the Holy Places in Palestine; and when Nicholas I. warmly supported the Greeks, Napoleon III.—not wholly uninfluenced by the Tsar's contempt for the upstart French Emperor and by a desire to gratify the Papacy—retaliated by taking up the cause of the Latins. When the Sultan decided in favour of the Roman Catholics, the Tsar revived his claims—under the *Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji*, 1774—to a general protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Porte, and enforced them by occupying Wallachia and Moldavia in July 1853.

A Congress of the Great Powers met at Vienna and drew up terms of settlement which were accepted by the Tsar, but finally rejected by the Sultan, at the instance of Sir Stratford Canning, the masterful ambassador of Great

Britain at Constantinople. Thereupon Russia declared war against Turkey in November, crossed the Danube and destroyed the Turkish fleet at Sinope. In December Palmerston resigned in order to force the Ministry to active measures; Great Britain and France joined in sending an ultimatum to Nicholas, threatening war unless he withdrew his troops from Turkish soil; and in March 1854 war was formally declared.



533. The Crimean War, 1854-1855.—France, owing to her constant wars for the conquest of Algeria (since 1830), was less unprepared for war than was Great Britain, whose own army (as distinguished from the Indian army) had not been on active service since Waterloo; and as the Allied Powers had set themselves to attack an almost inaccessible state, they naturally boggled over their work. A British fleet, consisting of the untried arm of steam war-vessels under Sir Charles Napier, blockaded the Russian ports on the Baltic.

A joint fleet, which had already been sent to the Black Sea, bombarded Odessa in April, and assisted in the work of transporting troops and supplies. A joint land force of the Allies was allowed to waste the summer at Varna; and when winter was at hand, it was decided to convey this force to the Crimea to capture the Russian arsenal of Sebastopol.

In the middle of September 55,000 troops (less than half of which were British) were landed at Eupatoria and marched southwards. They defeated the Russians at the battle of the Alma (September 20), and, after throwing away their chance of storming Sebastopol, before it could be fortified, laid formal siege to the place. The British troops drew their supplies from the port of Balaclava, on the south coast of the Chersonese; and it was in defending that port against Mentchikoff's Russians that the famous charges of the Heavy and the Light Brigades were made on October 25. Ten days later, a joint attack on the British lines by the Russians was defeated in the confused fight at Inkerman. All these were "soldiers' battles"—battles, that is, which were decided not by skill in generalship but by sheer hard fighting, in which the British, whether through more dogged courage or through superior weapons, happened to win. Then came the winter, which revealed short-comings in the commissariat equal to those in the generalship and more fatal in their results. British troops died wholesale of hunger and cold in the trenches before Sebastopol; and in January 1855 Lord Raglan, the British commander, reported that more than half of his 24,000 troops were in hospital.

534. The War Correspondent and the Ministry, 1855.—Avoidable hardships have been the common lot of the common soldier in all ages; but in this case there arose a new power—the War Correspondent—to make these hardships known to the fellow-countrymen of the sufferers. Russell, the representative of *The Times* in the Crimea, gave such accounts of the state of things at the front that there was a

general outcry against the Ministry; and when in January 1855 Roebuck carried a motion for inquiry into the conduct of the war, Lord Aberdeen resigned. Lord John Russell and the Earl of Derby having both failed to form a Cabinet, Lord Palmerston became Prime Minister. His colleagues consisted mainly of the Whig members of the Aberdeen Ministry; but its Peelite members declined to serve under him. Sidney Herbert, the Peelite Secretary of State for War under Aberdeen, had already sent out Florence Nightingale to reorganise the hospital service at Scutari; but it was left to Palmerston to put things in order in the Crimea.

A railway was built from Balaclava to the camp, which was thus supplied promptly with food and clothing; and fresh energy was displayed in the siege operations, in which, however, during 1855 the French took a more prominent part than the British. In January the King of Sardinia, eager to win the good-will of the Western Powers towards his ambitious schemes in Italy (§ 541), joined France and Great Britain; in February the Tsar Nicholas died of grief at the comparative failure of his troops; though a series of changes in the French and British commanders delayed the siege operations, Sebastopol fell in September; and in December the new Tsar Alexander II. asked for peace.

535. The Peace of Paris, March 1856.—A Conference was held at Paris in which Napoleon III., having won all the prestige he wanted, showed himself eager for peace, while Palmerston did his best to secure the permanent weakening of Russia in the interests both of Turkey and of Great Britain. Under these circumstances the resultant *Peace of Paris* was a compromise which really settled nothing and which, as Palmerston partly foresaw, merely annoyed Russia without strengthening Turkey. The independence and integrity of the Turkish Empire was recognised by Russia and guaranteed by the Powers; the Powers, including Russia, abandoned their

conflicting claims to the protection of the Christian subjects of the Sultan, who, however, promised to accord them better treatment. In order to diminish the powers of Russia for aggression, Wallachia and Moldavia were erected into independent states under the nominal suzerainty of Turkey, and Russia was pledged to destroy the fortifications of Sebastopol and to abstain from keeping a war fleet in the Black Sea. These terms were commonly thought at the time to be a triumph for Great Britain.

536. Persian and Chinese Wars, 1856-1857.—The year's interval between the conclusion of the Crimean War and the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny was marked by the commencement of two "little wars" in the Far East. In October 1856 Persia, which was already falling under the influence of Russia, seized Herat, but was speedily compelled by a British demonstration in the Persian Gulf to abandon her conquest to the Amír of Afghánistán. In October 1856 a Chinese official seized the *Arrow*, a boat unlawfully sailing under British colours; and the bombardment of Canton, to punish this "insult to the British flag," led to a Second Chinese War in which France took part. The joint forces occupied Canton in December 1857, bombarded the forts at the mouth of the Peiho in May 1858, and captured Peking in October 1860. This last event closed a somewhat dragging war by compelling China to confirm a *Treaty of Tientsin*, made in 1858, which legalised the introduction into China of opium, ambassadors, and missionaries.

The affair of the *Arrow* illustrates one special feature of Palmerston's foreign policy. He was bent on giving to a British subject, the wide world over, the same sort of protection which, to use his own words, was once accorded by the saying, "Civis Romanus sum." When Cobden carried a resolution condemning the Chinese War (March 1857), Palmerston dissolved Parliament and was rewarded by an increased majority.

537. Causes of the Indian Mutiny, 1857.—One reason why the Second Chinese War dragged on so long was the preoccupation of British forces in India. There Dalhousie's annexations had caused considerable anxiety and vexation among the native princes; recent land settlements had annoyed the larger landowners, especially in Oudh, by favouring the actual cultivators of the soil; and religious prejudices had been offended by the equipment of the native sepoys with rifles which required greased cartridges. Those who cherished these and other grievances thought that they had a good opportunity for vengeance in the fact that the British troops in India were few and scattered. The discontent was most widespread in the native regiments in the North-West Provinces; and in May 1857 some of these, stationed at Meerut, broke out in open mutiny, shot their officers, and stirred up similar mutinies in the neighbouring camps. Bengal and the greater part of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies kept quiet; and the Sikhs of the Punjab had been so well used by Sir John Lawrence that they helped the British.

The main incidents in the struggle were the massacre of Cawnpore and the sieges of Delhi and Lucknow. The Europeans at Cawnpore surrendered in June, after a month's siege, and were butchered. At Delhi, where a descendant of the Moguls had been set up as Emperor, the mutineers themselves were besieged from May to September by troops from the Punjab under John Nicholson. At Lucknow a handful of British troops under Sir Henry Lawrence held the ill-fortified Residency from May till September, when they were relieved by Sir Henry Havelock, and again on till November, when they were brought away by Lord Clyde, the Sir Colin Campbell of Crimea fame. Clyde reoccupied Lucknow in March 1858, and in June the Mutiny was finally crushed by the capture of Gwalior.

538. Results of the Indian Mutiny, 1858.—The rising failed partly because it was, for the most part, a military,

not a national movement; partly because it did not spread all over India; partly because the Hindus and the Muhammadans did not work well together; but above all because nearly all the British officers displayed a resourcefulness which matched the courage and endurance of the troops and civilians under their care. The most enduring results of the Mutiny were the re-organisation of the Indian army and the transfer of Indian administration from the Company to the Crown. Preparations for such a transfer had been made when the Company's Charter had been renewed in 1853—not for twenty years, as heretofore, but simply until Parliament should determine otherwise. The *Indian Government Act* of 1858 placed the control of British India in the hands of a new Secretary of State, responsible to Parliament, and represented in India by a Governor-General. George Canning's son, Lord Canning, who had succeeded Dalhousie, was continued in office and was thus the first Governor-General in India who can be called "Viceroy."

III. Derby and Palmerston, 1858-1865.

539. The Second Derby Ministry, February 1858-June 1859.—Before the Indian Mutiny was suppressed Palmerston had been succeeded by Lord Derby as Prime Minister. In January 1858 an Italian named Orsini had tried to murder Napoleon III. with a bomb made in England; and Palmerston at once brought in a *Conspiracy to Murder Bill* by which it was made penal to concoct on British soil such plots against foreign rulers. But the report that French military officers were urging the Emperor to lead them against England as a "lair of criminals" caused many people to regard Palmerston's Bill as truckling to France; and in February his measure was defeated by a combination of Radicals, Peelites, and Conservatives. On his resignation a Conservative Ministry was formed in which Lord Derby was First Lord of the

Treasury and Prime Minister, and Disraeli was Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons; while a future leader of the Conservative party, Lord Cranborne, afterwards Marquess of Salisbury, held a minor office.

The second Derby Ministry, like the first, was short-lived but notable. It passed the *India Act*, supported the Volunteer movement inspired by fear of France, ended a long-standing quarrel by admitting Jews to Parliament, abolished the property qualifications for members of Parliament, and introduced a *Reform Bill* assimilating the county and borough franchises. This Bill was rejected in March 1859 mainly because Disraeli had proposed to supplement the usual household qualifications by various qualifications resting on education and savings—scornfully described by Bright as "fancy franchises." A General Election failed to give the Ministry a majority in the House of Commons; and Lord Derby accordingly resigned.

540. Palmerston's Second Ministry, 1859-1865.—Lord Granville having failed to form a Government, Palmerston undertook the task and remained in office till his death in October 1865. His second Ministry was marked by many stirring events abroad—especially in Italy, Germany, and the United States—but by an almost complete quietude in home affairs. The question of further Parliamentary Reform was left to private members after a preparatory Bill introduced by Lord John Russell had died through lack of public interest in it; and almost the only events in purely domestic politics were Lowe's introduction of the principle of "payment by results" (abolished in 1890) in allotting the Education Grant, and a curious quarrel between the Lords and the Commons on a point of privilege. In 1860 Gladstone, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed to abolish the duty on paper, partly in order to facilitate the publication of books and periodical literature; the House of Lords rejected the measure; and the House of Commons expressed its resent-

ment by resolving that the power of the Lords to reject money-bills "has not been frequently exercised," and therefore "is justly regarded with peculiar jealousy." This constitutional difficulty was overcome in 1861 by including the abolition of the Paper Duty in a general money-bill which the Lords shrank from rejecting. In the same year the Prince Consort died, and the Queen gave way to grief so far as to withdraw from public life for many years.

541. Lord Palmerston and Europe, 1859-1865.—Quite early in 1859 it became obvious that the French restlessness against which the Volunteer movement of 1858 had been directed would be diverted elsewhere; and in 1860 Palmerston gratified his life-long critic, Richard Cobden, by allowing him to negotiate a commercial treaty whereby France and Great Britain admitted each other's goods on more favourable terms than those of other countries. Meanwhile Napoleon III. had been persuaded by Cavour to help Sardinia to expel the Austrians from Italy; but after winning victories at Magenta and Solferino, he made peace in July: Sardinia secured Lombardy from Austria but ceded Savoy and Nice to France. A little later, several of the states in Northern Italy voluntarily joined themselves to Sardinia, while Garibaldi expelled the Bourbons from the kingdom of the two Sicilies and handed it over to Sardinia. Napoleon then sent troops to prevent Rome from following the example of these states; and accordingly when an Italian Congress declared Victor Emmanuel King of Italy in March 1861, the capital had to be fixed at Florence, not at Rome.

In 1863 Palmerston joined with Austria and France in protesting against Russian severity in crushing a Polish insurrection and was snubbed for his pains; and in 1864 his attempt to persuade Austria and Prussia not to take the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein from Denmark was wholly unsuccessful. In the course of 1864 Lord Derby characterised the foreign policy of the Government as one of "meddle

and muddle," and Disraeli attacked it in a motion which was lost by less than twenty votes; but it may be doubted whether they could have done more for the Poles or for the Danes had they themselves been in office.

542. Palmerston and America, 1861-1865.—By far the most important foreign event, however, during Palmerston's Second Ministry was the Civil War in the United States of America. There were all manner of differences in origin, climate, temperament, and economic conditions between the northern and the southern states of the Union; and when Abraham Lincoln was elected President in 1860, these differences came to a head over the questions of slavery and state-rights. Early in 1861 the southern states formally seceded from the Union and formed a Confederation under Jefferson Davies which for some time seemed likely to establish its independence.

The most important effect of the Civil War on Great Britain was that the northern states blockaded the southern ports and so caused a cotton famine which brought Lancashire to the verge of starvation. Had the Lancashire operatives demanded active alliance with the southern Confederation in order to obtain a supply of cotton, they would probably have turned the scale in favour of war against the Federal Government. British opinion was much divided: on the whole the educated classes favoured the South, while the masses, who fancied that the war was simply between Slaveholders (of the type caricatured in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*) and Abolitionists, generally favoured the North.

In May 1861 when the British Government recognised the Confederates as belligerents, and in November when the Yankees boarded a British vessel and seized two Confederate agents, and also threatened to invade Canada, it seemed more than probable that war would take place. This probability was revived in the summer of 1862 when the *Alabama* was allowed to leave the Mersey and commence preying on Yankee

commerce as a Confederate cruiser. Towards the end of 1862, however, both parties unconsciously testified to the impartiality of Great Britain by complaining that Great Britain was partial to the other side; and during the rest of the war she remained strictly neutral. In April 1865 the Confederates were defeated, and in October Palmerston died. Those two events mark a real epoch in the history of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER XVII.

DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE, 1865-1885.

A. Personal History of Victoria. } See Chapter XV.
B. Contemporary Rulers. }

C. Topics of the Period.

(i) **International** : *relations with*—
(1) France : §§ 547, 554.
(2) Italy : § 543.
(3) Austria : §§ 543, 555.
(4) Prussia : §§ 543, 547.
(5) Russia : §§ 554, 555.
(6) Afghánistán : §§ 554, 555.
(7) South African Republic : §§ 556, 557.
(8) Egypt : §§ 548, 554, 558.
(9) United States : § 547.

(ii) **Constitutional.**
(1) Ministers : §§ 543, 544, 547, 552, 557, 560.
(2) Parliament : §§ 543, 544, 549, 560.
(3) Domestic Reform : §§ 546, 550, 551, 553, 560.
(4) Ireland : §§ 546, 549, 553, 559.
(5) Confederation : §§ 545, 548, 550.
(6) India : §§ 554, 557.
(7) South Africa : §§ 548, 556, 557.
(8) Canada : §§ 545, 548.
(9) Australia : § 548.

I. The Leap in the Dark, 1865-1868.

543. Russell's Second Ministry, October 1865-June 1866.—Earl Russell—as Lord John was now called—succeeded to the nominal headship of Palmerston's Cabinet; but the man who more and more took the real leadership of the Liberals was Gladstone. "There will be strange doings when I am gone," Palmerston had once said in reference to Gladstone's capacity for rapid and whole-hearted conversion to new ideas. Gladstone took up with ardour the idea of extending the franchise which had been coldly regarded by Russell and Palmerston; and his new point of view was expressed in his famous question about the unenfranchised classes—"Are they

not our own flesh and blood?" Early in 1866 he introduced a *Reform Bill* which seemed to Bright and the extreme Radicals too conservative, and to Lowe and a small group of Liberals whom Bright dubbed Adullamites to go too far in the direction of democracy. He proposed to confer the county and borough franchise on those who paid £14 and £10 in rent respectively; but in committee an amendment was carried substituting a rateable for a rental qualification. The Russell Ministry at once resigned, despite the Queen's protest against the absurdity of making so much of "a mere matter of detail." The time of Russell's resignation was marked by the outbreak of the Seven Weeks' War between Prussia and Austria, which ended with the defeat of the latter at Sadowa (or Königgrätz), and her expulsion from Germany and also from Italy.

544. Derby's Third Ministry, June 1866-February 1868.—Derby and Disraeli took office in the teeth of a hostile parliamentary majority; but this time their term of office was longer, and they left two enduring marks on British institutions. One of these was mainly due to Disraeli, the leader of the House of Commons, the other to Lord Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary. Disraeli had long been trying to "educate his party" on the lines laid down in the political novels of his early years; and he believed that some further measure of parliamentary reform was necessary, not only for its own sake, but also to "dish the Whigs." His *Reform Bill* underwent many transformations during its six months passage through Parliament in the summer of 1867.

The effect of the *Second Reform Act*, which was accompanied by Bills effecting a slight redistribution of seats and dealing with the franchise in Scotland and Ireland, was to extend the franchise in the towns to all adult male householders, and to lodgers paying £10 a year rent and residing in the same rooms for a clear year, and in the counties to £12 occupiers. It was estimated that these changes enlarged

the electorate from about 1,350,000 to about 2,245,000; and that the new voters, mainly of the artisan class, were largely illiterate and quite unversed in politics. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Bill, especially coming from a Ministry that called itself "Conservative," should excite vehement opposition. Cranborne and Carnarvon threw up their offices to show their disapproval of a measure which the Prime Minister himself described as a "leap in the dark"; the Adullamites agreed with them, thinking that the people should be educated before they were entrusted with votes; while Bright and the Radicals, on the other hand, managed to strip the Bill of the "fancy franchises" and other devices which Disraeli had endeavoured to impose on the democracy.

545. British North America Act, 1867.—About this time, also, a very notable experiment was essayed in British Colonial government. Constitutional difficulties in Canada proper, and a general desire for greater union in view of the possibilities of invasion from the United States, led to proposals for Federation which were authorised by Lord Carnarvon's *British North America Act* in March 1867. This Act erected certain British Colonies in North America into a "Dominion of Canada," in which each province should have local self-government, but should transact certain common business in a "Dominion Parliament" meeting at Ottawa. The nucleus of the federation was provided by Upper and Lower Canada —now again separated and named Ontario and Quebec respectively—Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; and this Dominion was later joined by Manitoba in 1870, British Columbia (with Vancouver Island) in 1871, and Prince Edward Island in 1873. The creation and successful working of the Dominion of Canada—which may be regarded as consummated by the opening of the Canadian Pacific Railroad in 1886—has done much to promote the idea of Imperial Federation.

546. Disraeli's First Ministry, February-November 1868.

—Early in 1868 Lord Derby resigned the premiership through ill health and was succeeded by Disraeli. His short ministry was marked by the successful conclusion of an expedition commanded by Sir Robert Napier to release certain Europeans imprisoned at Magdala by the King of Abyssinia (September 1867-April 1868); by the passing of an Act authorising the State to purchase British telegraphs; by the transfer of the decision of disputed elections from the House of Commons to the Judges; and by a keen parliamentary contest with Gladstone about Irish Questions.

During the sixties Irish discontent had been fostered by the American Irish society of Fenians. In consequence, both the Russell and the Derby Ministries had suspended the operation of the *Habeas Corpus Act* in Ireland; and in 1867 the Fenians had retaliated by various abortive risings in Ireland, by a futile attempt to capture Chester (February), and by an attack on Clerkenwell Prison (December). Gladstone ascribed these outrages to the existence of real grievances in Ireland, partly ecclesiastical, partly agrarian; and in April 1868 he carried a resolution in favour of the disestablishment of the Protestant Episcopalian Church of Ireland. Disraeli appealed to the country in November, but finding from the returns that he was hopelessly in the minority (265 to 393), he resigned without waiting for the assembling of Parliament.

II. Gladstone's First Ministry, 1868-1874.

547. Foreign Affairs, 1868-1874.—The Queen sent for Gladstone, who formed a Cabinet in which nearly all the leading names are familiar to the present generation. Lowe was Chancellor of the Exchequer; Bright was President of the Board of Trade; and places were found for Earl Granville, the Earl of Kimberley, the Marquess of Hartington (afterwards Duke of Devonshire), and G. J. Goschen (afterwards Lord Goschen); but the men who, after Gladstone himself,

did most to make the Ministry memorable were Cardwell, the Secretary of State for War, and W. E. Forster, the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education.

This Ministry plunged into domestic legislation—"reform by leaps and bounds"—and paid but little attention to external matters. In foreign affairs the most notable event was the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, which resulted in the overthrow of Napoleon III. and the establishment of the Third Republic in France, in the formation of a German Empire under the King of Prussia, and in the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany. Bismarck kept Great Britain neutral by divulging a scheme of Napoleon's for the absorption of Belgium, and he kept Russia neutral by prompting her to denounce the Black Sea clauses of the *Treaty of Paris*—which were formally rescinded in 1871. In the same year Great Britain entered into a *Treaty of Washington* with the United States, whereby the claims of the latter Power to compensation for the damages inflicted by the *Alabama* were submitted to international arbitration; and in the following year the Geneva tribunal gave an award of £3,000,000, which was promptly paid. A widespread impression that Great Britain had been overreached both by Bismarck and by the Americans was later a prime cause of the fall of the Gladstone Ministry.

548. Colonial Affairs, 1868-1874.—In colonial affairs the period of the Gladstone Ministry was marked chiefly by the development of common action among the various groups of colonies. The principle of federation was not only further extended by accessions to the Dominion of Canada during these years (§ 545), but also applied to the Leeward Islands in 1871; and in the same year the Australian Colonies and Tasmania joined in a protest against Kimberley's attempt to interfere with their mutual customs arrangements. In 1871 also Griqualand West, which had recently become valuable through the discovery of diamonds, was acquired from the

native chief; at the same time the Orange Free State was compensated for abandoning its claims by receiving £90,000. In 1872 Cape Colony received responsible government by Order in Council, and further north the Dutch stations on the Gold Coast were acquired by the British Government. This transfer on the West Coast led to a war with the natives of Ashanti which was brought to a successful issue by Sir Garnet Wolseley in February 1874. Two other African events of the period were destined to have a far-reaching importance: in 1869 Sir Samuel Baker, an Englishman, was sent by the Khedive to govern the Equatorial Provinces which have since become British territory, and Ferdinand Lesseps, a Frenchman, completed the Suez Canal, which at once revolutionised the conditions of trade between Europe and the East.

549. Irish Remedial Legislation, 1869-1870.—The immediate interest of the Gladstone Ministry, however, lay with domestic legislation; and here Ireland had first place. Gladstone began in 1869 with a Bill to disestablish and disendow the Irish Church, which was passed without much difficulty. Practically the Protestant Episcopalian Church was liberated from its subordination to the State at the price of surrendering a great part of its endowments, which were to be used for education and other social work; the Church retained its cathedrals and other ancient church buildings and was organised as a self-governing body; and the four Irish bishops ceased to sit in the Parliament of the United Kingdom. At the same time Gladstone discontinued the *regium donum* paid by the State to the Irish Presbyterian Church since William III.'s day and the State grant begun by Peel in 1845 to the Roman Catholic seminary at Maynooth. Thus the various churches in Ireland were left "free," unhelped and unhindered by State favour or State control; and there seems little doubt that these changes have worked for good.

Gladstone's agrarian legislation was less successful. The

Encumbered Estates Act of 1849 had caused the transfer of many estates in Ireland to landowners bent on making their investments pay; the peasantry in their eagerness to retain their lands often promised impossible rents; and the result was an immense increase in the number of evictions. Gladstone's *Irish Land Act* of 1870 gave to tenants a right to be compensated for unexhausted improvements when they gave up their tenancy (except in the case when they were ejected for non-payment of rent); and also, at Bright's suggestion, it arranged that the State should advance money to tenants to buy their holdings, when their landlords were willing to sell. The Act was disliked on principle by many Englishmen as an interference with "freedom of contract"; and it soon became even more disliked in practice by Irish peasants when they found that it provided no effectual remedy against rack-renting.

550. English Legislation, 1870-1873.—Special legislation for England accompanied and followed these Irish measures. Forster's *Elementary Education Act*, which was going through Parliament in 1870, side by side with the *Irish Land Act*, was a long step towards furnishing England with a system which should deserve to be called "national" and "educational." This measure provided machinery for the establishment of elective school-boards in districts where adequate primary education was not provided by voluntary effort, and armed these school-boards with powers to levy rates for the erection and upkeep of schools, and to compel parents to send their children to school. The "religious difficulty" was surmounted by a "Cowper-Temple clause" which enacted that no "catechism or distinctive dogmatic formularies" should be taught in the board schools, and that no child should be in any way compelled to attend denominational instruction in the voluntary schools. Something had already been done for secondary schools by the establishment of an "Endowed Schools Commission" in

1869; and in 1871 the older English universities of Oxford and Cambridge were thrown open to all kinds of Nonconformists by the parliamentary abolition of religious tests. In 1872 a *Ballot Act* substituted secret voting by ballot for the old system of open voting, in the hope that thereby bribery, intimidation, and violence might prove less conspicuous features of elections of all kinds, parliamentary and municipal. Finally in 1873 the *Supreme Court of Judicature Act* partly amalgamated the three "Common Law" courts (Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer) and the Court of Chancery into four divisions of one High Court of Justice. This Act was completed in 1876 by an Act rearranging the Courts of Appeal; and together these Acts have done much for the simplification, cheapening, and quickening of judicial proceedings.

551. British Legislation, 1870-1871.—Meanwhile measures were being carried which effected equally great changes for the British Isles as a whole. Trades Unions were legalised by an Act of 1871, and the military system of Great Britain was transformed by Cardwell. In 1870 the War Office was reorganised in three departments, which have since been reduced to two; and in 1871 the control of the subsidiary forces—militia, yeomanry, and volunteers—was transferred to the Secretary of State for War. But more important and more successful were the steps taken to make the army more efficient as a fighting instrument. Cardwell's *Army Enlistment Act*, 1870, introduced the "short-service system," whereby men were to be enlisted not for twelve or twenty years as heretofore, but for six (afterwards seven) years, and, after spending this period with the colours, were to be passed to the reserve—*i.e.* were to be free to resume civil occupation, but to be liable to be called out if necessary. A Royal Proclamation put an end to the system whereby officers purchased their commissions.

552. Fall of the Gladstone Ministry, 1874.—In the course

of three or four years Gladstone had annoyed Protestant Nonconformists by his compromise on the question of religious education, Anglicans by his disestablishment of the Irish Church, landlords by his land legislation, the gentry generally by his army legislation, and the general public by his foreign policy. Hence his parliamentary majority had diminished gradually; and in March 1873 he was defeated on the *Irish University Education Bill*—a measure intended to set up an Irish University which should attract Roman Catholics as well as Protestants. Gladstone at once resigned, but, as Disraeli declined to take office again without a parliamentary majority, he resumed office. Early in the following year, however, he dissolved Parliament in order to take the sense of the country on his extensive reforms, and he promised that, if he were continued in office, he would abolish the income-tax. The elections resulted in a Conservative majority; and Gladstone at once resigned.

III. Disraeli's Second Ministry, 1874-1880.

553. Disraeli's Home Policy.—The Ministry which Disraeli formed—with Lords Derby, Carnarvon, and Salisbury at the Foreign, Colonial, and India Offices respectively—was naturally influenced by the results of its predecessor's policy. It was marked by great quietude in domestic politics, and by much stir in foreign politics. In 1873 the "Home Rule League" (formerly known as the Home Government Association) was formed to secure what O'Connell had called "the repeal of the Union"; and this League, at first under Isaac Butt, later under Charles Stewart Parnell, obtained almost complete control of Irish parliamentary representation, and did its best to compel attention to Irish grievances by "obstructing" all other business at Westminster. In 1879 Michael Davitt formed an "Irish Land League," with the objects of obtaining

reductions in rent, and ultimately getting rid of landlords altogether.

554. Egypt and India, 1874-1880.—The most prominent events in Disraeli's Second Ministry were connected with the East, and with South Africa; and of these two spheres of action the former especially attracted the "Oriental imagination" of the Prime Minister himself. In 1875 Disraeli purchased the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal, thus obtaining not only a remunerative investment but also an effective control over the direct route to the Far East. In 1879 Great Britain and France, acting principally as shareholders in the Suez Canal Company, intervened jointly in the affairs of Egypt, deposed the extravagant Khedive, Ismail, in favour of his son Tewfik, and established a system of Dual Control which led to further intervention a few years later. In all these Egyptian dealings—as in 1798 and 1840—Great Britain was mainly interested in Egypt as being on the road to India.

Disraeli showed his interest in India by the *Additional Titles Act* (1876), under which Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India in a great durbar held at Delhi on New Year's Day, 1877. A little later he embarked on the search for a "scientific frontier" on the North-West of India; and this search brought about two Afghán Wars. In the Second Afghán War (November 1878-May 1879) Great Britain deposed Shír Alí for receiving a Russian envoy, and established Yakúb Khán as Amír on terms laid down in the *Treaty of Gandamak*, whereby the Amír ceded the Kurum, Pishin and Sibi Valleys, and promised to receive a British Resident at Kábul. The Third Afghán War arose out of the murder of the British Resident, Sir Louis Cavagnari, in September 1879. General Roberts occupied Kábul in December 1879, and thence made a march to Kandahar which resulted in the establishment of Abdur-Rahman Khán as Amír. Before that time a change of

government had taken place at home, which involved a temporary abandonment of the "forward policy" on the North-West frontier.

555. Russia and Turkey, 1875-1878.—Meanwhile suspicion of Russian designs, which was the prime cause of these Afghán Wars, had brought Great Britain to the verge of war with Russia in the Near East. The "atrocities" committed by the Turks in repressing Christian risings in Herzegovina and Bulgaria (1875-1876) led in April 1877 to the outbreak of a Russo-Turkish War, which ended in the *Treaty of San Stefano*, March 1878. Early in 1878 Disraeli sent a British fleet to protect Constantinople from the Russian invaders; and in order to compel Russia to submit the *Treaty of San Stefano* to a European Congress, he later called out the reserves of the British Army, and brought Indian troops to Malta. Before the Congress met in Berlin in June, the British Government came to terms with Russia and Turkey: the "Greater Bulgaria" arranged in the San Stefano Treaty (including Roumelia and reaching to the Aegean Sea) was to be divided into two, and Turkey was to hand over Cyprus to Great Britain in return for an annual tribute and a permanent guarantee of the integrity of the Turkish dominions in Asia. The *Treaty of Berlin* embodied these arrangements, and also erected Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro into independent states, while it gave Kars, Batoum, and Bessarabia to Russia, and handed over to Austria-Hungary the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The British representatives, Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury, returned from the Congress declaring that they had brought back "Peace with Honour."

556. The Zulus and the Boers, 1875-1880.—British intervention in the Russo-Turkish War is almost the only piece of work done by the Disraeli Ministry which can be judged as a whole. In Afghánistán and South Africa its work was still incomplete when it had to give place to another Ministry

which had quite other views. In South Africa the difficulties of the time arose mainly out of the disturbed relations between the Transvaal Boers and various tribes on their borders. The dangers to the white population in South Africa were so generally felt that in 1875 Lord Carnarvon ventured to broach a scheme of general confederation; and in 1877 he annexed the Transvaal.

Sir Henry Bartle Frere, who was Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa from 1878 to 1881, determined to break the Zulu power. In 1879 Wolseley crushed Sekukuni in the Lydenburg district of the Transvaal, and Lord Chelmsford overthrew Cetywayo, in the district known as Zululand, north of Natal and south-east of the Transvaal. The latter campaign was at first unsuccessful: in January a British contingent was overwhelmed at Isandhlwana, and another narrowly escaped the same fate at Rorke's Drift on the Tugela River; in June the Prince Imperial, son and heir of Napoleon III., was slain while fighting for Great Britain as a volunteer; but in July Chelmsford stormed Ulundi, the Zulu capital, and took the King prisoner. The native peril being thus overpast, the Transvaal Boers expected either independence or at least the self-government promised to them; but a change of Ministry at home distracted attention from them at a critical moment.

IV. Gladstone's Second Ministry, 1880-1885.

557. Afghánistán and the Transvaal, 1880-1881.—This change of Ministry followed a General Election, held in the spring of 1880, in which the Liberals obtained a large majority. Apparently the Electorate had been as much "harassed" by Beaconsfield's foreign activity as by Gladstone's domestic reforms; but it is possible also that a long depression in trade was made to count against the Ministry, and that Gladstone's denunciatory speeches in his "Midlothian

Campaign" had helped to turn the scale. The Liberal victory at the polls was at once followed by the resignation of Lord Beaconsfield (who died in April 1881). Gladstone formed a Ministry in which his principal colleagues were Hartington, Bright, Forster, Granville, Kimberley, Sir William Harcourt, and Joseph Chamberlain.

Gladstone had spoken so strongly against Disraeli's policy that he was bound in conscience to undo his acts wherever possible. The Marquess of Ripon was sent to India to reverse Lord Lytton's "forward policy" and to adopt a conciliatory attitude towards the natives, which made him by far the most popular of all Indian Viceroys among them. In South Africa, also, for reasons which have been variously given, Gladstone reversed the "forward policy" of his predecessor. In December 1880 the Transvaal Boers proclaimed an independent republic under Paul Kruger, and defeated a British force under Sir George Colley at Laing's Nek and Majuba Hill (February 27, 1881). In the following month Gladstone made peace with the Boers, recognising the independence of the Transvaal State and the suzerainty of the Queen. Naturally enough the Boers ascribed this concession to their own valour and to the weakness of their adversaries; and this impression was confirmed in 1884 when for the *Pretoria Convention* of March 1881 was substituted a *London Convention* in which no mention was made of the Queen's "suzerainty" over what was now again formally styled "the South African Republic."

558. Egypt and the Soudan, 1881-1885.—One explanation of Gladstone's policy in Afghánistán and the Transvaal is that he desired his Ministry to be a time of "peace, retrenchment, and reform." But hardly was the Transvaal trouble over for the present when disturbances broke out in Egypt which filled the rest of Gladstone's Ministry with a series of "little wars." In September 1881 Arabi Pasha, an officer in the Egyptian army, put himself at the head of a movement

against the Dual Control, and raised the cry of "Egypt for the Egyptians." As France refused to join in the work of restoring order, Great Britain undertook the task by herself. In July 1882 Alexandria was bombarded and occupied; and in September Wolseley, who had advanced from the Suez Canal, defeated the Egyptian army at Tel-el-Kebir, and seized Cairo. Early in 1883 Granville issued a circular to the Powers announcing that Great Britain had undertaken the duty of acting as adviser to the Khedive, but would withdraw her troops as soon as possible.

Meanwhile a new danger had arisen in the Sudan. A man, professing to be the Mahdi promised by the prophet Muhammad, came forward to sweep away the rule of unbelievers and make the faithful masters of the earth. In November 1883 he destroyed a weak Egyptian army under Hicks Pasha, an Englishman, and thus won a general acceptance of his claims. In January 1884 the British Government sent Charles Gordon, who had governed the Egyptian territories on the Upper Nile with extraordinary success for five years (1874-1879), to withdraw Egyptian troops from the Sudan; but Gordon was shut up in Khartoum by the Mahdists, and the British Government was compelled, much against its will, to rescue him. After much hesitation between the Suakim and the Nile routes, the latter was chosen by Wolseley, now a peer. The advance column of the relief expedition defeated the Mahdists at Abu Klea (January 17, 1885) and came within sight of Khartoum two days after its fall and Gordon's death (January 26, 1885). Four days previously the Mahdi had died and had been succeeded by the Khalifa Abdallah. As Gladstone had no desire to avenge Gordon's death, or to rescue the Sudan from anarchy, British and Egyptian troops were withdrawn, and the southern boundary of Egypt was fixed at Wady Halfa.

559. Irish Affairs, 1880-1885.—Irish questions proved even more perplexing to the Gladstone Ministry than those which

beset them concerning the Nile Valley. "Boycotting," murder of landlords, and mutilation of cattle became so common in 1880, under the auspices of the Land League, that various Coercion Bills were passed early in 1881. But the Ministry wished to provide remedies for agrarian grievances as well as repression for agrarian outrages; and in April it passed a *Land Act*, creating a court empowered to fix rents for fifteen years. This Act satisfied no one, least of all the leaders of the "Home Rule" League and of the Land League; when several of these, including Parnell, were imprisoned in October they issued from Kilmainham Jail a manifesto forbidding the payment of rent. Gladstone retaliated by proclaiming the Land League "an illegal and criminal association"; but in April 1882 he came to terms with Parnell.

This agreement, generally known as the *Kilmainham Treaty*, led to the retirement of the Ministers directly responsible for Irish affairs, Earl Cowper, the Viceroy, and Forster, the Chief Secretary for Ireland. In the following month Forster's successor, Lord Frederick Cavendish, and one of his permanent staff were murdered in the Phœnix Park, Dublin, by some members of a Club which called itself the "Invincibles"; and this fresh outrage was met by fresh measures of coercion. The Home Rule leaders repudiated responsibility for the murders, but continued to resist the attempt to govern Ireland by exceptional means. During the rest of the Gladstone Ministry Ireland was kept comparatively quiet under the rule of Earl Spencer and his Chief Secretary Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Trevelyan.

560. Third Reform Acts, 1884-1885.—The Liberal Government had come into office in 1880 with a strong parliamentary majority; but its measures in South Africa, Egypt, and Ireland had not struck the average onlooker as either strong or wise or successful. Nor had it effected very much in its chosen sphere of domestic legislation. A *Burials Act*, giving

Nonconformists the right to be buried in Anglican churchyards, a *Bankruptcy Act*, a *Married Women's Property Act*, and an *Employers' Liability Act* were almost the only notable measures; and these, being all of a highly technical nature, did not win for their authors a popularity proportionate to their usefulness. Bye-elections pointed to the probability that the next general election would go against the Government unless it could do something to win the favour of the electorate.

For these and various other reasons Gladstone, in January 1884, introduced a *Franchise Bill*, which assimilated the county and borough franchise, or in other words conferred a vote on the agricultural labourer. The Lords declined to pass this Bill unless accompanied by a measure for the Redistribution of Seats; and in November such a Bill was arranged jointly by the Government and the leaders of the Opposition. This Bill cut up the historic constituencies into single-member districts, something after the fashion advocated by the Chartists, and gave twelve additional members to Scotland (bringing the total membership of the House of Commons up to 670). The *Franchise Act* was passed in December 1884 and the *Redistribution Act* in the following June. In the same month the Government was defeated on its Budget proposals by a combination of the Irish Home Rulers, disgusted with the continuance of coercion in Ireland, and the Conservatives. Gladstone thereupon resigned and was succeeded by Lord Salisbury; and this change of Ministry virtually coincided with a complete transformation in the constitutional and international politics of Great Britain.

CHAPTER XVIII.

DEMOCRACY AND EMPIRE, 1885-1901.

A. Personal History of Victoria. } See Chapter XV.
B. Contemporary Rulers. }

C. Topics of the Period.

(i) **International**: *relations with*—
(1) France: §§ 567, 568, 569.
(2) Germany: §§ 567, 568, 569.
(3) Portugal: §§ 567, 570.
(4) Russia: § 573.
(5) China: §§ 566, 573.
(6) Japan: §§ 566, 573, 574.
(7) United States: § 567.

(ii) **Constitutional.**
(1) Ministers: §§ 561-566.
(2) England: §§ 561, 563, 564.
(3) Ireland: §§ 561-564.
(4) India: §§ 561, 573.
(5) Africa: §§ 561, 563, 564, 566-572.
(6) Australia: §§ 561, 575.

I. Ministerial History, 1885-1901.

561. First Salisbury Ministry, June 1885-January 1886.—On Gladstone's resignation Lord Salisbury formed a Conservative Ministry, including Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, W. H. Smith, and Lord Randolph Churchill. Like so many other Conservative ministries during the century, it was merely a stop-gap affair, lacking a parliamentary majority. Its seven-months' career was mainly notable for the passing of Acts authorising the formation of a Federal Council for Australia (§ 575), and encouraging peasant proprietorship in Ireland (*Lord Ashbourne's Act*); for a Third Burmese War, which resulted in the annexation of the remainder of King Theebaw's dominions; for the proclamation of a British protectorate over Bechuanaland and Pondoland (§ 570); and above all, for the discovery of rich goldfields in the Transvaal, and for the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. A General Election held towards the close of the year returned a House of Commons in which the Liberals had exactly half the total number of seats (335), while the Irish Home Rulers

had 86 seats. The Home Rulers could turn the balance; and they chose to turn it against Lord Salisbury, who had threatened to suppress the Irish National League, by voting in favour of an amendment to the Address regretting the absence of labourers' allotments from the Queen's Speech.

562. Gladstone's Third Ministry, February-August 1886. — Gladstone then formed his third ministry, in which the most notable new men were Lord Rosebery, Foreign Secretary, and John Morley, Chief Secretary for Ireland. Under the circumstances it was inevitable that both the main parties in the British Parliament should bid for the support of the Home Rulers. Gladstone had allowed himself to be tossed to and fro in his former period of power, but he now decided to take a definite and irretraceable line of Irish policy. He introduced a *Home Rule Bill*, abolishing the representation of Ireland at Westminster, and establishing at Dublin a separate Parliament for the exclusive regulation of Irish affairs, and also a *Land Purchase Bill* lending to the new Irish Government £50,000,000 for buying out landlords under *Lord Ashbourne's Act*. Suspicions as to Gladstone's intentions towards Ireland had already excluded Lord Hartington and G. J. Goschen from his third Ministry: the realisation of these suspicions at once led to the resignation of Joseph Chamberlain and George Trevelyan. The malcontents, who called themselves Liberal Unionists, numbered 93 members of the House of Commons; and their action caused the *Home Rule Bill* to be rejected on its second reading by 343 to 313 (June 7, 1886). A General Election followed in which Gladstone was beaten: the Gladstonian Liberals numbered only 191 against 317 Conservatives, the Liberal Unionists being 74 and the Irish Home Rulers 84.

563. Second Salisbury Ministry, August 1886-August 1892.—Lord Salisbury formed a Ministry consisting exclusively of Conservatives, but supported by the Liberal Unionists. Lord Randolph Churchill was Chancellor of the

Exchequer for some months; and shortly after his withdrawal Lord Salisbury took over the charge of Foreign Affairs, and his nephew, Arthur James Balfour, became Chief Secretary for Ireland. The Ministry, thus modified, lasted about six years. It was marked by the celebration of Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1887 with great enthusiasm throughout the Empire; by a considerable number of domestic reforms, of which the *Allotments Act*, 1887, C. T. Ritchie's *Local Government Act*, 1888, and the *Free Education Act*, 1891, were the most conspicuous; by many measures intended both to repress and to remedy Irish discontent; by a judicial inquiry into the connection between "Parnellism and Crime"; by a subsequent split in the ranks of the Irish Home Rulers; by the partition of most of Africa among various European States (§§ 567-569); and by the rise of Cecil Rhodes to commercial and political influence in South Africa. The General Election held in the summer of 1892 resulted in the return of a majority of Liberals and Irish Home Rulers, and consequently in the defeat and resignation of Lord Salisbury.

564. Gladstone's Fourth Ministry, August 1892-March 1894.—Gladstone took office for the last time with Harcourt, Rosebery, and John Morley in their old offices, and with Henry Asquith and Henry Campbell-Bannerman as Home and War Secretaries respectively. During the eighteen months which elapsed before ill-health compelled Gladstone to retire various large measures were introduced into Parliament. The only one of these which became law was Henry Fowler's *Parish Councils Act*, 1894, extending to rural parishes and districts a system of elective self-government similar to that which had already been established in boroughs and counties. Of the unsuccessful measures the most important were a *Home Rule Bill*, which was forced through the House of Commons, but which was thrown out in the Lords by an enormous majority (419 to 41), a *Welsh*

and Scottish Church Suspensory Bill, intended to sever the connection between the State and the established churches in Wales and Scotland, and a *Liquor Traffic Bill* designed to make the number of public houses in any district dependent on "local option," that is on the wishes of the local ratepayers. The most notable events outside the British Isles were connected with the extension of British responsibilities in various parts of Africa (§§ 568-570).

565. Lord Rosebery's Ministry, March 1894-June 1895.—On Gladstone's retirement in March 1894 (he died four years later), the Queen invited Lord Rosebery to take his place. Lord Rosebery accepted the post, handing over the charge of Foreign Affairs to the Earl of Kimberley; and all his former colleagues continued in office under him. The Ministry had only a small and uncertain majority in the House of Commons, and it was further weakened by internal dissensions —Lord Rosebery favouring, and Sir William Harcourt discouraging, an "Imperialist" policy. Almost its only notable achievements were the proclamation of a British protectorate over Uganda and the passing of Harcourt's Budget, which introduced a graduated scheme of death duties on a much larger scale than before. In June 1895 a 'snap' division on the War Office Vote placed the Government in a minority; and Lord Rosebery seized the opportunity to resign.

566. Third Salisbury Ministry, June 1895-July 1902.—Lord Salisbury then entered upon his third ministry, which lasted longer than any administration since that of Lord Liverpool at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and which was ended by his retirement through ill-health. He himself took charge of Foreign Affairs until the General Election of 1900, when he handed them over to the Marquess of Lansdowne. His colleagues, chosen from both sections of the Unionist party, included such Conservatives as A. J. Balfour and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer respectively, and

such Liberal Unionists as Joseph Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, and G. J. Goschen, First Lord of the Admiralty. A General Election held in the summer of 1895 gave the new Government a strong majority; and this was little diminished at a new election in the summer of 1900.

This Ministry, which witnessed the celebration of the Great Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1897, and the accession of her eldest son in January 1901, was almost entirely absorbed in foreign and colonial affairs. The weakness of China, revealed in her defeat by Japan in the war of 1894-1895, gave to various European Powers opportunities for aggrandisement which inevitably interested the Government of the state having the largest trade with that country. In 1896 Great Britain was pressed by the necessities of her position in Egypt and Uganda to undertake the reconquest of the Sudan; and further south, political and economic jealousies between the Boer farmers and the foreign miners in the Transvaal issued in the Great Boer War of 1899-1902 and the acquiescence of the Boers in the reinclusion of their territories within the British Empire.

II. The Scramble for Africa, 1885-1902.

567. Africa at the Time of the Berlin Conference, 1884-1885.—During the past twenty years or so the most striking general feature of world-history has been the "expansion of Europe"—that is to say, the sudden increase of interest on the part of European States in the non-European parts of the earth. Australasia had become definitely British during the first half of the nineteenth century, when the maritime supremacy of Great Britain was practically unchallenged. America, according to the "Monroe Doctrine" (which brought Great Britain and the United States to the verge of war in 1895 over the disputed boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela), had ceased to be a safe field for

European aggrandisement. Hence this "expansion of Europe" has been practically limited to parts of Asia and Africa and to the Pacific.

Of these fields of action Africa was the largest; and in 1884 the "scramble for Africa" led to the calling of an international conference to lay down the rules of the game. At that time France was securely planted in Algeria and Tunis in the North, and Great Britain was definitely established in South and West Africa and informally in Egypt, while Portugal had settlements (dating from the fifteenth century) scattered along the East and West coasts, and Germany had just effected a footing in Damaraland and Namaqualand. The Berlin Conference (November 1884-February 1885) decided in favour of freedom of navigation on the Congo and the Niger (later applied also to the Zambesi) and in favour of the suppression of slavery in the basin of the Congo. This river had been fully revealed to Europe by H. M. Stanley less than ten years previously (in 1877); and its huge basin had been occupied by an "International Association" which had been financed by the King of the Belgians. African developments since the Berlin Conference fall into three well-defined geographical groups.

568. North-East Africa, 1885-1902.—Germany tried to supplant Portugal, not only at the south end of her west coast claims (in Damaraland), but at the north end of her east coast claims; and this latter activity aroused the alarm of British missionary interests in Uganda, and British commercial interests in Zanzibar. Accordingly in 1888 William Mackinnon, the chairman of the principal steamship company trading to East Africa, obtained a charter for an "Imperial British East Africa Company" to administer the coast strip claimed by the Sultan of Zanzibar; and in 1890 an *Anglo-German Agreement* delimited the "spheres of interest" of the high contracting Powers in that region. Great Britain secured the protectorate of Zanzibar and Uganda (with

Unyoro) in return for ceding Heligoland to Germany; and the East Africa Company was persuaded to undertake the administration of Uganda. It was partly because Great Britain had acquired control, not only of the mouth, but also of the sources of the Nile that the reconquest of the intermediate region was undertaken. Lord Cromer (Sir Evelyn Baring), who had for many years been adviser to the Khedive, recommended this enterprise, and had restored Egyptian finances to a condition to bear the strain; meanwhile Sir Herbert Kitchener, the Sirdar of the Egyptian army, had put his troops into condition to face the Dervishes, as the fanatical followers of the Khalifa were called. In 1896 the Egyptian frontier was advanced southwards to Dongola; and in 1898 the Dervishes were decisively defeated at the Atbara and at Omdurman. In 1899 an *Anglo-French Agreement* delimited the "spheres of influence" of the two Powers in North-East Africa.

569. West Africa, 1885-1902.—In West as in East Africa Great Britain came into contact, and sometimes almost into conflict, with both France and Germany. In West Africa Great Britain had various territories, some old, some new, such as Gambia, Sierra Leone, and Lagos, and also trading interests on the Oil Rivers, *i.e.* the region round the Niger delta. In 1879 George Taubman Goldie organised British traders in this last-named district into a "United (afterwards National) African Company," which bought out competitors of other nations, and in 1886 received a charter, of the old East India Company pattern, as the "Royal Niger Company." Meanwhile in 1884 Great Britain had assumed a protectorate over the Niger coast; and this had been formally recognised by the Berlin Conference. This Company had some difficulties with native chiefs in Benin and elsewhere, and also with the German claims in Togoland and the Kameruns; but its most serious difficulties arose from the desire of French officers to create a continuous colonial

empire stretching southwards from Algeria to the Guinea coast, and behind Lake Tchad to the French Congo Territory. These difficulties were settled by the *Anglo-French Agreements* of 1890 and 1898. In 1901 the British Government relieved the Niger Company of its administrative duties and took over the government of all Nigeria. Joseph Chamberlain also used his long tenure of office as Colonial Secretary (1895-1903) to "develope the neglected estates" of Great Britain along the Guinea Coast by building harbours and railways.

570. South Africa, 1885-1893.—In 1884 the British Government had abandoned, or seemed to abandon, all claims to suzerainty over the South African Republic (except a power to disallow its treaties with foreign Powers), and the German Government annexed Damaraland and Namaqualand. Thus there arose a possibility of an alliance between Germany and President Kruger which would have effectually stopped the extension of British South Africa northwards. It is true that in 1884 the Transvaal was almost bankrupt, and that its boundaries were fixed by the *London Convention* of that year; but on the other hand gold was found in great quantities within the Transvaal in 1885, and new Boer Republics were being founded outside the treaty-limits of the Transvaal.

In 1885 the latter danger was overcome by an expedition which put an end to the Republics of Stellaland and Goshen on the west of the Transvaal, and annexed the whole of Bechuanaland to the British Empire. On the other hand an eastward extension of the Transvaal into Zululand was recognised as the "New Republic" in 1886, but this was not allowed to reach the sea; and Boer extension northwards was practically prevented by the establishment in 1889 of the "British South Africa Company," which had acquired exclusive rights of mining from Lobengula, King of the Matabeles. The British South Africa Company was the

creation and the instrument of Cecil Rhodes, who thus spent on "empire building" the wealth he had won from the diamond mines in Kimberley. The operations of the Company involved it in difficulties with Portugal—ended by the *Anglo-Portuguese Agreement* of 1891—and with Lobengula, culminating in the First Matabele War of 1893. The Company also obtained for a time control over a vast region north of the Zambesi, extending to the south-east of Lake Tanganyika; and all this territory became known as Rhodesia. The Company has built railways connecting Buluwayo with both the Cape system and the Portuguese port of Beira.

571. The Boer Republics, 1895-1899.—British authority had thus been asserted in divers ways over a vast territory in Southern Africa, extending from Cape Town to Lake Tanganyika—roughly speaking, over the lands explored by the Scots missionary, David Livingstone. But the future of this territory was still rendered uncertain by the presence of two Boer Republics in a large enclave intercepted between British and Portuguese territories, and by the neighbourhood of German territories in East and West. Three different schemes for the future were projected by three powerful personalities—Cecil Rhodes, Jan Hofmeyr, and Paul Kruger.

Rhodes, who added to his labours those of Prime Minister of Cape Colony from 1890 to 1896, seems to have worked towards a self-governing federation of all British and Boer territories under the British flag; Hofmeyr, a Cape Dutchman, who directed an Africander League (chiefly Dutch) and whose support was necessary to Rhodes, seems to have had similar plans except that the Dutch, rather than the British, element was to predominate; and Kruger, an old man who had taken part in the Great Trek, and was marked by a passionate hatred of everything British, seems to have made up his mind that a wholly independent Dutch South Africa had been made possible by the mineral wealth of the Transvaal. Though defeated in his scheme for the extension of the Transvaal, Kruger

was able to keep the immigrant mining population of Johannesburg (Uitlanders or Outlanders) from sharing the political power of the Dutch farmers. The Outlanders asked for what they held to be their civil rights and fair taxation; and failing to get any concessions they plotted an armed rising in Johannesburg with the help of Cecil Rhodes. The result was the abortive Jameson Raid from Mafeking, which was crushed at Krugersdorp on New Year's Day 1896, and which was followed by the resignation of Rhodes. The British Government disclaimed responsibility for the Raid, but as it inflicted no punishment on Rhodes or the Raiders its professions were not believed; and Kruger set himself to arm his burghers in such a way that, when Great Britain openly took up what was thought to be its settled intention of destroying the Boer Republics, he should be able to defeat the plan and turn the British out of South Africa.

572. The Great Boer War, 1899-1902.—In the summer of 1899 Kruger, Steyn (President of the Orange Free State), and Sir Alfred Milner, High Commissioner for South Africa, met in conference at Bloemfontein to settle outstanding questions; and on the failure of their negotiations each side prepared for war. In October the Boer Republics sent a joint ultimatum requiring Great Britain to cease sending reinforcements to South Africa; and on her refusal they invaded Natal and the Cape Colony. They wasted time in laying siege to Ladysmith, Kimberley, and Mafeking; but on the other hand, Sir Redvers Buller, who was sent out to take chief command against them, divided his forces so much that both he and his colleagues were badly defeated in December 1899. The British Government then sent out Lords Roberts and Kitchener with large forces, regulars and volunteers from all parts of the Empire. In February 1900 Roberts relieved Kimberley, and captured a large force under Cronje at Paardeberg; and about the same time Buller relieved Ladysmith. Bloemfontein was captured on March 13, and the Orange Free State

was formally annexed on May 28. Pretoria was captured on June 5, and the Transvaal was formally annexed on September 1. It was thought that the war was over; but the Boers and their sympathisers in Cape Colony gave Lord Kitchener nearly two years' hard work before peace was made on May 31, 1902. The war seems to have taught both British and Boers to respect one another; and it remains to be seen whether the politicians will be able to build a united South Africa on the basis of this mutual respect. The universal rejoicing at the conclusion of this great struggle found fitting expression in the coronation of King Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra on August 9, 1902.

573. Turkey and India, 1885-1902.—The expansion of Europe and Great Britain has not been confined to Africa. In Asia, Turkish dominion has remained intact entirely through the jealousies of the European Powers: no one dared to intervene effectively on behalf of the Armenians in 1895; and when Greece took up arms on behalf of Crete two years later, Europe merely intervened to save Greece from utter destruction. The future of Turkey and of Persia presents geographical, religious, and diplomatic difficulties which, it may be dogmatically asserted, cannot be solved in a way satisfactory, or even tolerable, to all parties concerned. Further east, Great Britain had continued to strengthen her north-west frontier of India against the dreaded Russian invasion: the chief incidents in this sphere during recent years have been the Penjdeh Incident of 1884 (which nearly led to an Anglo-Russian war, but which ended in a joint delimitation of the Afghán frontier), the Chitral campaign of 1895, and the Afridi Rising of 1897. On the eastern side of India, Great Britain has strengthened her position by the annexation of Burmah in 1886 (followed by a long and arduous struggle against dacoits or bandits) and the conclusion of an *Anglo-French Agreement* regarding Siam in 1896.

574. China, 1895-1902.—The chief Asiatic opportunity for

aggrandisement, however, is furnished by the weakness of China, clearly demonstrated in the brief war of 1895 between China and Japan. Russia successively acquired a right to build and guard the Pacific end of her great Trans-Siberian railway across Manchuria, and later the lease of a terminal ice-free harbour at Port Arthur; in 1897 Germany acquired the port of Kiao-Chau and the commercial rights in its vicinity; while in 1898 Great Britain acquired the lease of a neighbouring port in the island of Wei-hai-wei.

On the whole, Great Britain and the United States have tried to maintain the "open door" in China, and to prevent the partition of the Empire. The Chinese Government, however, naturally irritated by the greed of the European Powers, and by the aggressiveness of their missionaries, instigated and then openly countenanced an anti-foreign "Boxer" rising which broke out in the summer of 1900. For nearly two months the European colony in Peking was besieged in the British Legation, but it was finally relieved by a joint force of Europeans, Japanese, and Americans. The suppression of the rising was followed by the further rivalries and intrigues among the powers; and the fate of China is still as uncertain as that of Turkey. Early in 1902 Great Britain and Japan, two of the Powers most interested in preserving the integrity of China, entered into a close alliance which may become as important as the *Triple Alliance* between Austria, Germany, and Italy (dating from 1887) and the answering *Dual Alliance* of France and Russia (dating from 1891).

575. The Pacific and the Australian Commonwealth, 1901.—The establishment of Russia and Germany in good positions on the eastern coast of Asia, the conclusion of the *Anglo-Japanese Alliance*, the annexation by the United States of Hawaii and the Philippine Islands (at the close of their brief war with Spain in the summer of 1898), and the *Anglo-German Agreement* of 1899 concerning Samoa, are among the principal recent illustrations of the growing importance of the

Pacific Ocean. The annexation of Fiji by Great Britain in 1874 (with the good-will of the natives), the partition of New Guinea in 1884 between Great Britain, Holland, and Germany, and the proclamation in 1888 of a British protectorate over North Borneo, Brunei, and Saráwak were earlier indications of the same significant fact.

This new European interest in the Pacific was the chief cause of the movement in favour of Australian, or even Australasian, federation. The principal stages in the movement were the erection of a Federal Council for Australia in 1885, the *Imperial Defence Act* of 1888 (which arranged for the formation of a special squadron in Australasian waters at the joint expense of the Mother Country and the Colonies), and the *Australian Commonwealth Act* of 1900, which gave imperial sanction to a federal constitution that had slowly been formulated by Australian statesmen and sanctioned by their democratic electorates. The Commonwealth was formally inaugurated in January 1901; and there is good hope that this new federation will prove more successful than the old-fashioned "union," inaugurated exactly a century before.

At the beginning of the twentieth century statesmen of all parties throughout the British Empire seem to be looking to federal government as the most likely means to overcome the difficulties long experienced in attempts to combine "democracy" with "empire." The Peace Conference held at the Hague in 1899, under the auspices of the Tsar of Russia, may even be regarded as an attempt to realise the dream of Tennyson—in many things the most representative British poet of the nineteenth century—

"For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;

* * * * * * * *

Till the war-drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furled
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world."

APPENDIX.

BIOGRAPHIES

OF

CHIEF STATESMEN, GENERALS, ETC.

Beaconsfield, Lord : see *Disraeli.*

Bolingbroke, Lord : see *St. John.*

Burke, Edmund, 1730-1797.—This great philosophic statesman was born in Ireland and came to London in 1750. His treatise on *The Sublime and Beautiful* and other writings, as well as his extraordinary gifts and knowledge, brought him friends. He became secretary, first to "Single-speech" Hamilton and afterwards to Lord Rockingham, who placed him in Parliament (1765). Burke's ability and eloquence found full scope in advocating the repeal of the Stamp Act and the right of reporting Parliamentary debates, and in inveighing against the arbitrary measures of the Grafton and North ministries. He became an Opposition leader, notwithstanding his lack of money and aristocratic connections.

His pamphlets also and his *Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents* added to his political influence. In alliance with Fox he pleaded the cause of the American colonists, formulated proposals for settling the disputes, and declaimed against the mismanagement of the war. In 1780 Burke brought in, and as Paymaster in the Rockingham Ministry (1782) he carried through, a Bill which reduced Parliamentary corruption by abolishing a number of pensions and places. He resigned with Fox, when Shelburne succeeded Rockingham, and took office again in the hapless Fox-North Coalition Ministry (1783). When it was dismissed he joined in the ineffectual struggle against Pitt, and shared the misfortunes of his party. The tactlessness and ungoverned temper he displayed in the India and Regency Bill debates made him very unpopular.

With his Whig principles Burke combined a conservatism which made him oppose Parliamentary Reform, but Abolition of Slavery, Catholic Emancipation, and any cause that appealed to his humanity and hatred of oppression stirred his inmost soul. Such feelings inspired his impeachment of Hastings and the speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts.

The French Revolution filled Burke with an alarm and hatred which his speeches and writings in time communicated to the great majority of the nation and the Whig party. His *Reflections on the French Revolution*, *Appeal to the Old Whigs*, and *Letters on a Regicide Peace* preached with increasing violence a crusade against Jacobinism which stirred all Europe. They caused a bitter public quarrel between Burke and Fox, and a Whig secession to the Tory ministry which left the Foxites a powerless minority. Burke's restored popularity could not console him for the loss of his only son, whom he did not long survive. His writings are a mine of political wisdom, and form a necessary part of the education of all who seek to govern men.

§§ 390, 392, 405, 411, 416, 417, 421, 436, 438.

Canning, George, 1770-1827.—After a brilliant Eton and University career Canning, whose opinions had originally been Whiggish, was led by the French Revolution to change sides, like Burke and Windham. He served under Pitt, who specially favoured him, till his resignation (1801). The admirable wit of the *Anti-Jacobin*, written by Canning and others to ridicule the revolutionary party, damaged his career by the offence it gave to men who were able to injure him. Canning ridiculed and intrigued against Addington—resigned at Pitt's death—and took no part in the inept "Talents" Ministry—but as Foreign Secretary under Portland (1807) he showed all the boldness and vigour that England's hazardous situation called for. The credit of the seizure of the Danish fleet at Copenhagen was his, and he was responsible for the Orders in Council, the aid given to the Spanish uprising, and the well-conceived though ill-executed Walcheren expedition (1808).

Canning attributed the mishaps of Sir John Moore's campaign and Walcheren to Castlereagh's mismanagement, and their dispute led to a duel and the resignation of both. The duel and the enmity of the Eldon and Addington Tories excluded Canning from office during the eventful succeeding years; but he heartily supported Wellington. In 1816 he joined the Liverpool Ministry, and aided Huskisson to carry out the reforms postponed during the war.

Canning's support of Queen Caroline offended George IV.; nevertheless, he became Foreign Secretary after Castlereagh's suicide (1822).

He adhered to Castlereagh's policy of maintaining the settlement effected by the Congress of Vienna, but his aims were distinctly Liberal. British influence was used to promote constitutional government throughout Europe, and to resist the efforts of Metternich and the Holy Alliance to suppress the Liberal movement in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the Spanish colonies. In his policy towards the Greek rebellion against Turkish barbarity, Canning's chief anxiety was to prevent war between Russia and Turkey, with its inevitable effects on the peace of Europe and British interests in the Mediterranean.

As a Tory of the school of Pitt, Canning, though opposed to Parliamentary Reform, supported Catholic emancipation, and had always been distrusted by the obstructive section of his party. On Liverpool's retirement (1827) Wellington, Eldon, and Peel refused to serve under Canning as premier: he could only take office by the aid of a strong body of Whigs, and was fiercely assailed by his old friends. He died soon after becoming premier from the effects of a chill.

§§ 461-463, 466, 478-482.

Carteret, Lord, 1690-1763.—Walpole's rival, and the ablest of the Sunderland section of the Whigs. After gaining distinction as foreign ambassador and in Ireland, Carteret led with Pulteney the faction that attacked Walpole, and at his downfall became Secretary of State under Wilmington (1742). Accomplished, rash, imperious, and despising public opinion, he energetically supported Maria Theresa and the war policy, and his subsidies to German princes were fiercely assailed by Pitt. His "Drunken Administration" became most unpopular, and, in spite of the King's favour, Carteret was overthrown by the Pelhams (1744). He never regained power, though he held office under Newcastle and Pitt.

§§ 333, 335, 341, 348-351, 355.

Churchill, John, Duke of Marlborough, 1650-1722.—Churchill learned the art of war under Turenne in Flanders, and his good looks and manners gained him Court favour. He was promoted by James II., and the victory over Monmouth was really his; nevertheless, he joined in the conspiracy to invite William over. He served William III. well in Ireland (1690), but later betrayed him to James, and was imprisoned for suspected complicity in Fenwick's plot (1692). William pardoned without trusting him, employed him as ambassador, and recommended him to Anne at his death. Lady Marlborough had unbounded influence over Anne, and while this influence lasted Marlborough and Godolphin enjoyed practically unlimited authority.

On Anne's accession Marlborough was employed to complete William's

negotiations for the Grand Alliance against France, and was appointed general of the allied armies in Flanders. His command lasted from 1702 to 1711, and was a series of triumphs. His most splendid successes were the cross-march from the Rhine to the Danube and victory of Blenheim (1704), which delivered Germany, and the victories of Ramillies (1706), which won Austrian Flanders, of Oudenarde (1708) and of Malplaquet (1709), which secured the fall of the important fortresses of Lille and Mons. Added to these were the successful sieges of the Flemish fortresses, and a series of masterly manœuvres which baffled Louis' best generals. Marlborough's diplomatic skill was no less extraordinary ; it overcame the jealousies, dilatoriness, and selfishness of the allies, and the obstinacy of the Dutch field deputies, who tried to thwart his military operations.

Though thus successful abroad, Marlborough was undermined at home by the Queen's alienation from his wife, envy of his wealth and fame, and the growing conviction that the objects of the war had been gained, and that it was being carried on for his advantage ; this idea was confirmed by his imprudent application to be made Captain-General for life. Godolphin had substituted for the Tories in his ministry Whigs who supported the war ; but Anne dismissed him (1710) in the Tory triumph produced by the Sacheverell prosecution, and Harley and St. John at once commenced the clandestine negotiations with France which resulted in the Treaty of Utrecht.

Marlborough kept his command through the campaign of 1711 ; he was then dismissed, disgraced, and accused of peculation. He retired to the Continent, but joined in the measures for securing the Hanoverian succession, and at Anne's death he supported the Whigs. He withdrew from public affairs after the accession of George I.

§§ 283, 303-305, 307, 311, 312, 314-319, 323.

Clive, Lord, 1725-1774.—A clerk in the East India Company's service at Madras, Clive was made a soldier and statesman by French aggression. His defence of Arcot and later successes ruined the plans of Dupleix (1751-1754). On his return to India, Clive's victory at Plassey (1757) won Bengal and founded our Indian empire ; he afterwards defeated the efforts of the French and Dutch to establish themselves there. In his second governorship (1765) Clive reformed and organised the administration, and settled the revenue of the Company. Attacked in Parliament for alleged misgovernment and corruption, he vindicated himself, and his services were acknowledged, but he sank into melancholy and committed suicide.

§§ 367-369, 394.

Cobbett, William, 1762-1835.—A self-educated peasant, soldier, journalist, and voluminous miscellaneous writer. Cobbett emigrated to America (1792), but his *Porcupine's Gazette* getting him into trouble, he returned to England (1800), and, after inveighing against the French at Windham's instigation, began to advocate the reform of abuses. His *Political Register*, carried on for thirty-three years, had an enormous circulation among the labouring classes. Cobbett was pugnacious, virulent, and unscrupulous, and was several times fined or imprisoned; nevertheless, he was returned for Oldham (1833), and was always heard with respect. His *Rural Rides* and other works, written in vigorous, racy English, retain their interest.

§ 476.

Cobden, Richard, 1804-1865.—Originally a calico printer, Cobden spent his life in impressing on his countrymen the principles of Free Trade and non-intervention in foreign affairs. He helped to found the Anti-Corn Law League in Manchester (1838) and was its fervid missionary throughout Britain and in Parliament. After Peel's conversion and the repeal of the Corn Laws (1846) Cobden, who had neglected his private affairs, was presented with £80,000, raised by public subscription. Afterwards, his opposition on non-intervention principles to the Crimean and Chinese Wars cost Cobden his seat in Parliament; but he regained it, and his last public service was the negotiation of the Commercial Treaty with France (1860).

§§ 512, 536, 541.

Danby, Earl of: see *Osborne*.

Derby, Earl of (Edward Stanley), 1799-1869.—Stanley's brilliant abilities were first displayed in Lord Grey's Whig ministry (1830) in carrying through the Bill for the Abolition of West Indian Slavery and important measures dealing with Irish tithes and Education, and in strenuous combats with O'Connell and the repealers.

His Churchmanship taking alarm at the government measures, he joined the Conservatives and was Peel's lieutenant till the latter's sudden conversion to Free Trade. Stanley's resignation destroyed the Peel Ministry (1845), and the broken Conservatives rallied under his leading. They soon abandoned Protection, but Gladstone and the Peelites would not rejoin them. They remained a minority, and in 1852 and 1858 Lord Derby was Premier only while Liberals and Peelites were settling their differences.

In the Lancashire Cotton Famine arising from the American Civil War (1861-1865) Derby, as head of the Relief Committee, showed noble liberality and energy. His third ministry (1866) dealt wisely with the

European situation arising from the Austro-Prussian War, and firmly with the Fenian rising in Ireland. Some Reform Bill being inevitable, Derby allowed Cranborne, Carnarvon, and General Peel to resign, and made his "leap in the dark" boldly when he had resolved on household suffrage. He resigned through ill-health (1688) and died soon after.

§§ 492, 495, 527, 534, 539, 544.

Disraeli, Benjamin, Lord Beaconsfield, 1804-1881.—The son of an eminent writer, and already known as a brilliant novelist and vigorous speaker, Disraeli entered Parliament in 1837. His Jewish birth and Tory-Radical views, his contempt for the Whigs, and his sympathy for the condition of the labouring classes made him at first a free lance; but after the election of 1841 he headed a small group called the "Young England" party who shared his views. His influence grew, and with Lord George Bentinck he led the Tory malcontents who combined with Whigs and Irishmen, after the repeal of the Corn Laws, to overthrow Peel on the Coercion Bill.

After Bentinck's death the Conservatives reluctantly accepted Disraeli as the only possible leader. The Peelites refused to serve with him, and his party was in a minority for twenty-five years; but he moulded it to his views, and as Opposition leader Disraeli's conduct during the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, and the American Civil War was dignified and patriotic. As Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Derby's two first ministries (1852 and 1858) he showed skill and courage under difficult circumstances. In the third Derby ministry (1866) Disraeli and his chief were compelled, while still in a minority, to deal with Parliamentary reform. They adopted the opportunist tactics they had condemned in Peel, and without permanently alienating their more stiff-necked supporters succeeded in passing a thoroughly democratic Reform Bill, by a masterpiece of dexterous Parliamentary management.

Disraeli succeeded Lord Derby as Premier (1868), but the Liberal split had closed, and he was soon ousted from office by Gladstone's counterstroke at the Irish Church. He patiently awaited the Conservative reaction he foresaw, and in 1874 he was again Premier, with a large majority. Disraeli neglected home legislation, and after becoming Lord Beaconsfield (1876) his remaining powers were absorbed by Eastern politics.

The Turks, hard pressed by Russia in the war arising from the rebellion of the subject Slav races, had signed a ruinous treaty. As the result of Beaconsfield's insistence, backed by a display of force, the San

Stefano treaty was so modified by the Berlin Conference (1878) as to secure Turkish independence, while British interests in the Levant were safeguarded by the acquisition of Cyprus. The popularity of the Beaconsfield ministry was at this time very great; it vanished during the Afghan and Zulu Wars. The election of 1880 dismissed the Conservatives from power, and Beaconsfield's unique career closed soon after.

§§ 527, 539, 544, 546, 553-556.

Durham, Lord, 1792-1840.—A Whig Radical who, with Russell, Graham, and Duncannon, drafted Lord Grey's Reform Bill (1831). Durham wished to include the Ballot, and force the bill through by a large creation of peers. His tactlessness and irritability excluded him from the Melbourne Ministry (1835), but he was sent on several embassies to Russia.

An insurrection of French Canadians having led to a two years' suspension of the legislative assembly, Durham went out as Commissioner to deal with the situation. He resigned when Brougham protested against his high-handed proceedings, but his *Report on the Affairs of British North America* has guided the policy of all his successors.

§§ 487, 513.

Fox, Charles James, 1749-1806.—Third son of Henry Fox, Lord Holland. Ruinously indulged in childhood, he wasted immense sums in gambling, and was all his life overwhelmed with debts. He entered Parliament in 1768, and employed his vast abilities as a debater in defending the arbitrary measures of the Government. He then joined the Opposition, espoused the cause of the American colonists, and declaimed against the conduct of the war.

Fox served under Rockingham (1782), but on Rockingham's death his dislike for Shelburne made him form the scandalous Coalition Ministry with North, whom he had been reviling for years (1783). His India Bill was defeated, and he was overthrown by Pitt (1783). Fox never regained his popularity, and the rest of his life was passed in fruitless and often factious opposition to Pitt and the King, who hated him for abetting the vices of the Prince of Wales. His conduct on the Regency Bill and Hastings' impeachment (1788) injured the Whig party, and his anti-national attitude during the Revolutionary War divided it and reduced it to impotence. After Pitt's death Fox joined the Grenville Ministry (1806), but died soon after.

His lovable disposition endeared Fox to his friends, but cannot blind posterity to his flagrant faults and failure as a practical statesman.

§§ 405, 416-419, 426, 436, 453, 456.

Gladstone, W. E., 1809-1898.—The son of a wealthy Liverpool merchant, Gladstone entered Parliament (1833) as a strong Tory and High Churchman. He attached himself to Peel, assisted him in revising the tariff, and supported him on Corn Law repeal. As Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Aberdeen Ministry (1852) Gladstone established his reputation as a financier by a Budget which balanced large remissions of taxation by an extended Succession Duty and Income Tax. The Crimean War destroyed the Aberdeen Ministry, and Gladstone quickly deserted Palmerston. He detested Palmerston, but rivalry with Disraeli prevented him from joining Lord Derby (1858): ultimately he broke with the Conservatives and joined the second Palmerston ministry as a Liberal. Though on uneasy terms with his chief he served with Palmerston till the latter's death, increasing his reputation by his budgets and the repeal of the Paper Duties.

In the second Russell Ministry, Gladstone introduced a Reform Bill extending the Parliamentary franchise. This measure failed, owing to Liberal dissensions, and it fell to Disraeli to pass a Reform Act based on household suffrage. As a return blow, Gladstone reunited the Liberal party in an attack on the Irish Church Establishment. A general election (1868) returned a large Liberal majority, and Gladstone as Premier passed a number of important measures, disestablishing the Irish Church, revolutionising Irish land tenures, abolishing Army Purchase, and establishing a national Education System. In 1874 his waning popularity induced Gladstone to dissolve Parliament. Disgusted by the return of a large adverse majority, he resigned the leadership to Lord Hartington, but returned to lead a fiery crusade against the Eastern policy of his old rival Lord Beaconsfield.

His second Premiership (1880-1885), a period of disastrous floundering in Irish and foreign affairs, was followed by the short-lived Salisbury Ministry. A general election (1885) produced a balanced state of parties. Gladstone decided to pronounce for Home Rule and ejected Lord Salisbury by an alliance with the Parnellites. His Home Rule Bill, which split the Liberal party in two, was defeated on its second reading, and a new appeal to the nation resulted in the return of a large Unionist majority.

During the next six years Gladstone strove to recommend to the British electors his latest panacea for Irish ills. The election of 1892 gave him his fourth Premiership, but not the commanding majority he had asked. He forced a Home Rule Bill through the Commons, but it was rejected by the Lords. In 1894 Gladstone resigned, and passed

in retirement the remainder of his long life of strenuous political, literary, and social activity.

§§ 497, 543, 547, 549-552, 557-560, 562, 564.

Godolphin, Sidney, 1645-1712.—From 1679 to 1710 Godolphin's prudence and financial skill secured him almost constant official employment. He did not betray James, and while serving William he mingled in the Jacobite plots against him. As Lord Treasurer under Anne he passed the Act of Union with Scotland (1707). He steadily supported Marlborough and the war policy, raised the necessary funds, and though a Tory he dismissed Harley and St. John and admitted the Whigs to the Ministry when the Tories ceased to favour the war (1708). Anne's quarrel with Lady Marlborough, and the Tory reaction, stimulated by the unwise prosecution of Sacheverell, on which Godolphin insisted against Somers' advice, caused his downfall (1710).

§§ 244, 246, 274, 288, 304, 314, 318.

Grattan, Henry, 1746-1820.—An upright, zealous Whig, Grattan led the Opposition in the Irish Parliament which demanded the withdrawal of restrictions on trade and repeal of Catholic disabilities (1775). Lord North made large concessions (1780), but Grattan, supported by Flood and the Volunteer Convention at Dungannon, claimed complete judicial, legislative, and commercial independence. The danger of exasperating the Volunteers was so great that Poynings' Law and the more oppressive enactments against the Catholics were repealed, and all claim to legislate for Ireland was abandoned by Shelburne's Renunciatory Act (1783). It was chiefly owing to Grattan that these concessions were obtained peacefully and without ill feeling, and he received a grant of £50,000 for his services.

Ireland needing a period of rest from agitation, Grattan opposed the efforts of Flood and the Volunteers to force Reform on Parliament. He supported Pitt's commercial propositions (1785) and that statesman's liberal and reforming policy, but his influence declined with the growth of revolutionary ideas, and when Fitzwilliam was recalled (1795) and complete Catholic emancipation abandoned, he retired from Parliament. He returned to protest eloquently against the Union with Great Britain (1800), though he desired to maintain the connection between the two countries. Grattan continued to advocate the Catholic claims in the British Parliament.

§§ 410, 447, 448.

Halifax, Earl of : see *Montague.*

Harley, Robert, Earl of Oxford, 1671-1724.—Originally an intolerant Whig, Harley drifted into Toryism, patronised the abortive Land Bank (1796), and led the factious Opposition in the Parliament of 1798. Driven from office by the Whigs (1708), the Tory reaction and the Queen's quarrel with Lady Marlborough restored him to power (1710), and his attempted assassination by Guiscard made him popular.

Though a skilful party leader, Harley was too insincere and irresolute to take a decided line on the succession question, and after the Utrecht negotiations he quarrelled with St. John and was supplanted by him. He was imprisoned and impeached after the accession of George I., but was acquitted.

§§ 294, 304, 314, 317, 318, 322, 332.

Hastings, Warren, 1732-1818.—Hastings first showed his abilities under Clive. Afterwards, as Governor of Bengal (1772) and Governor-General of India under North's Regulating Act (1773-1785), he was the administrative organiser of our Indian government. His reform of the judiciary and revenue collection, the stoppage of the tribute to the Great Mughal, and the funds gained by the Rohilla War restored the Company's finances, previously greatly embarrassed. He afterwards became involved in disputes with Francis and members of his Council sent out from England, who tried to thwart his policy. It was, however, carried out, and Hastings successfully conducted the wars with the Maráthás (1778) and Haidar Alí (1780), unaided by the home government, then occupied with the disastrous American War. To meet the expenditure, large war loans were extorted from Chait Sing, Rájá of Benares, and the Begams of Oudh, on colourable pretexts, but such as only necessity could justify.

There was much genuine though ill-informed indignation at Hastings' proceedings, for Francis had maligned him. On his return he was impeached for oppression and misgovernment by Burke, Fox, and Sheridan, but was acquitted after a trial lasting seven years. Few statesmen have served their country in perilous times more ably or on the whole more blamelessly.

§§ 363, 398, 409, 421.

Huskisson, William, 1770-1830.—A progressive Tory like Pitt, under whom he first served (1804), Huskisson followed Canning, taking or quitting office with him. He supported Catholic Emancipation, and, as the first financier of his age, he aided in the resumption of cash payments after the Great War (1821) and in the reforms instituted by the Liverpool Ministry. As President of the Board of Trade (1823), Huskisson modified the Navigation Acts, repealed the Acts restricting

combination among workmen for improving the conditions of labour, introduced a graduated scale of duties on corn, and so moulded laws and tariffs as to inaugurate a modified system of free trade. He was killed at the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway.

§§ 478, 479, 485.

Locke, John, 1632-1704.—The great thinker whose philosophic system held sway in Europe throughout the eighteenth century. He was Shaftesbury's secretary, and held a minor government post after the Revolution. Locke's chief works are the *Essays on the Human Understanding*, *Toleration*, *Education*, and the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, and the tracts on the remedy for the depreciated currency (1695). Locke's *Civil Government* is the philosophic justification of the Revolution Settlement. From the fiction of the genesis of society and government under a Social Contract on which Hobbes bases his system of absolutism, Locke deduces the principles on which the overthrow of the Stuarts was effected.

§ 294.

Marlborough, Duke of : see *Churchill*.

Montague, Charles, Earl of Halifax, 1661-1715.—An eloquent speaker, first elected to the Convention Parliament (1689), Montague led the Whigs in the Commons, managed the party in alliance with Somers, Russell, and Wharton, and shared its triumphs and reverses. An able financier, he had to find money for the war with France, and succeeding Chancellors of the Exchequer have worked mainly on Montague's lines.

His first loan, secured on the beer duties, is the origin of our National Debt (1693). His *Tonnage Bill* (1694), incorporating the Bank of England in return for a loan at moderate interest, was the realisation of Paterson's scheme of a national bank. His Exchequer Bills—the *General Mortgage*, which created a consolidated fund for the service of the Government loans—the *General Society*, which admitted fresh adventurers to share the Old East India Company's monopoly—were all most successful financial devices. Montague also carried through, in conjunction with Somers, Locke's plan for restoring the depreciated currency (1696), his Window Tax providing funds for the recoinage. He withdrew to the Lords (1699) to escape attacks mainly caused by his extreme arrogance and vanity. The impeachment commenced against Montague for his share in the Partition Treaty (1701) fell through, but he held no office in Anne's reign.

§§ 288, 291, 294, 300, 302.

Nelson, Horatio, 1758-1805.—Nelson, the son of a Norfolk clergyman, entered the navy as a delicate boy of twelve. His zeal, aided by family influence, secured his rapid promotion, and he became a post-captain in the American war. His courage, independence, and readiness to assume responsibility, invaluable in war, were dangerous to his interests in the ensuing peace, when he was engaged in enforcing the Navigation Laws in the West Indies. The Revolutionary War gave these qualities full scope. In the sieges of Bastia and Calvi in Corsica, and the naval combats in the Mediterranean, Nelson displayed extraordinary genius for war; and his admirals, Hood and Hotham, allowed him to act with great independence. His tactics were daring, and aimed at the complete destruction of the enemy; they gained the victory at St. Vincent (1797), the credit being Nelson's though Jervis commanded.

After Nelson's single failure—an attack on the Spaniards at Santa Cruz in Teneriffe -he was sent to intercept Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition. It evaded him, but Nelson destroyed the French fleet in Aboukir Bay (1798), and ruined Napoleon's plans of conquest. After starting the siege of Malta, and doing further service in Italy and Sicily, Nelson came home. He had previously, influenced by an unhappy passion for Lady Hamilton, been involved in some unjustifiable doings of the wretched Neopolitan government. Nelson's next service was in the Baltic against a league of the Northern Powers, he being the real leader though Hyde Parker commanded. The stubbornly fought battle of Copenhagen destroyed the Danish fleet (1801), and Russia and Sweden abandoned the pretensions that had caused the war. A scheme of defence against invasion and an attack on the French flotilla at Boulogne were Nelson's last services in the war, which ended with the Peace of Amiens (1802).

When war recommenced Nelson was sent to command the Mediterranean fleet. Napoleon's plan for invading England depended on the meeting, at a general rendezvous in the West Indies, of the fleets blockaded in French and Spanish ports, and their return to the English Channel to protect the crossing of his army. Villeneuve, therefore, escaped from Toulon, picked up the ships blockaded in Cadiz, and sailed to Martinique. Nelson followed to the West Indies, and then, divining the enemy's plan, returned to Europe. Villeneuve, after an indecisive action with Calder off Finisterre, had retired to Cadiz to refit, and Nelson went to England. He was immediately sent out again, and in a decisive battle off Cape Trafalgar (1805) he destroyed the united French and Spanish fleets, being killed in the moment of victory.

§§ 441, 442, 445, 454.

Newcastle, Duke of, 1693-1768.—A nervous, undignified Whig aristocrat, whose wealth and borough influence were necessary to every ministry. Kept in subjection by Walpole, Newcastle and his brother, Henry Pelham, ousted the able but unpopular Carteret (1744) and forced Pitt upon the reluctant George II. (1746). Newcastle consulted Hardwicke about everything, but he understood foreign politics, and successfully negotiated the Peace of Aachen (1748). He survived the secessions of Pitt and Fox, but was overthrown by the public indignation at the loss of Minorca. Newcastle did the ministerial dirty work during the Seven Years' War, and Pitt domineered over him; at the peace Bute dismissed him.

§§ 335, 351, 372, 375, 384, 390.

O'Connell, Daniel, 1775-1847.—Catholic Emancipation and Repeal of the Union were the objects to which the "Liberator" devoted his gifts of eloquence and organisation. Discouraging crime, evading law, his Catholic Association, supported by a small subscription, *the Catholic Rent*, enlisted both priests and people, and proved irresistible. An Emancipation Bill embodying his views, passed by the Commons, was rejected by the Lords (1825), and O'Connell resolved to test the assumption that, legally, no Catholic could sit in Parliament. He was elected for Clare, and Wellington, rather than face an Irish rebellion, passed the Catholic Relief Act (1829).

O'Connell's influence in Ireland had become boundless, but the priests remained unendowed, the tithe uncommuted, agrarian crime was rife, and he spent years in fierce Parliamentary combats over these questions and Repeal. He dropped Repeal when Melbourne (1835) purchased his support by concessions, but resumed it in 1840. A Repeal Association was formed, the priesthood enlisted, a *Rent* collected, monster meetings, all but treasonable, were held, and O'Connell was imprisoned, but soon released. He dropped Repeal and again joined the Whigs to overthrow Peel, but his influence was gone, and he died broken-hearted when famine and the Young Ireland party were driving his country into rebellion.

§§ 484, 495, 520.

Osborne, Thomas, Earl of Danby, 1631-1712.—Appointed High Treasurer at the fall of the Cabal Ministry, Danby sought to rally the Tories and Churchmen to Charles II. Not unpatriotic, though corrupt and unscrupulous, he first systematised the purchase of Parliamentary votes. He was impeached and imprisoned for his share in the French treaties (1678). Danby played a leading part in the overthrow of James II. and the Revolution Settlement, and was long a chief adviser

of William and Mary, whose marriage he had promoted. Impeached (1698) for taking bribes from the East India Company, and only saved by the flight of a witness, he retired in disgrace.

§§ 235, 237, 262, 274.

Oxford, Earl of: see *Harley*.

Palmerston, Lord, 1784-1865.—After twenty years' service in Tory administrations as War Minister, Palmerston joined Lord Grey's Whig government as Foreign Secretary (1830), remaining in office with a brief interval till 1841. His arrangements for the separation of Belgium from Holland, the Quadruple Alliance in favour of constitutional government in Spain and Portugal (1834), and the aid given to Turkey against Mehemet Ali (1840) were all notable achievements. In the latter case Palmerston risked war with France, and his bold assertion of Liberal principles and brusque, high-handed diplomacy often offended foreign ministers and nations, while involving him in frequent difficulties with Queen Victoria.

Once more in office (1846) these peculiarities had full scope during the Italian and Hungarian revolts (1848-50); they caused friction with the Queen and the Premier, and Palmerston's precipitation in expressing approval of Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* led to his dismissal from the Russell Ministry (1851). Made Premier (1855) -at seventy—Palmerston coped successfully with the Crimean muddle, the Indian Mutiny, and the Chinese War, but was overthrown on a charge of truckling to France in his *Conspiracy to Murder Bill* (1858). In Palmerston's second premiership (1859), his interference in the Schleswig-Holstein dispute was a diplomatic failure, but he aided Italian liberation and preserved British neutrality during the American Civil War.

§§ 485, 487, 491, 498, 501, 515, 522, 525, 528, 532, 534-536, 540-542.

Parnell, Charles Stewart, 1846-1891.—Parnell entered Parliament in 1875 as a follower of Isaac Butt. In 1879 he became President of the Irish Land League founded by Michael Davitt, and in the following year was elected Chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party. He thus united the agitation for Home Rule and land reform and commenced his system of Parliamentary obstruction in the interests of Home Rule. In 1881 he was one of the numerous Irish members of Parliament arrested under Gladstone's Coercion Act, and remained in Kilmainham jail until the *Kilmainham Treaty* procured his release (May 1882). Afterwards, his skilful manœuvres obtained concessions from both political parties, and finally converted Gladstone to Home Rule. The Special Commission which in 1888 inquired into the

relation of Parnell and his followers to agrarian crime in Ireland exonerated him from all personal connection with outrage. For a short time his popularity was immense, but the dishonouring revelation of his private life (1890) caused his fall. The Irish party split up, and the short remainder of Parnell's life was spent in futile efforts to regain his authority.

§§ 553, 559, 562, 563.

Peel, Sir Robert, 1788-1850.—Grandson of "Parsley Peel," who made a fortune by calico printing. Peel entered Parliament in 1809, and, his talents being soon recognised, he did useful work, organising the Irish and English constabulary, and carrying the *Act for the Resumption of Cash Payments* (1819-1821), and measures which relaxed the barbarous severity of the old criminal law. In 1828 Peel joined the Wellington Ministry, and had to meet the situation created by O'Connell's election for Clare. Peel had always opposed Catholic Emancipation, and had refused to join Canning on this ground; but to avert an Irish rebellion he swallowed his convictions, and passed the Catholic Relief Act (1829).

After the Reform Act of 1832, Peel constructed the Conservative party out of the Tory ruins, and in 1834 he was Premier, but was overthrown by the alliance of O'Connell with the Whigs. The Melbourne Ministry was never popular, and in 1841 Peel was again Premier with a large majority. He found Ireland mutinous, a huge financial deficit, trade depressed, and the labouring classes clamouring for the redress of their grievances. Peel succeeded in defeating and discrediting O'Connell, who had again raised the standard of Repeal, and he passed some useful remedial measures for Ireland.

To restore the finances Peel abolished the duties on seven hundred articles, making up the deficiency in the revenue by an Income Tax, and so revised the sliding scale on corn as to make it less inequitable. But the food of the people was the main question in the "hungry forties." The potato crop failed, and the Anti-Corn Law League and Cobden convinced Peel that Protection was untenable. Failing to convince all his colleagues, he resigned, but Russell could not form a ministry, and Peel came back to pass the Act for the total repeal of the Corn Laws (1846).

The measure, carried by the aid of the Whigs, caused intense exasperation among the Conservatives, who never forgave Peel; but there is no doubt that his sudden change on this question and on the Catholic Claims in 1829 arose from a sense of public duty. It broke up the party, and the malcontents, uniting with the Irish members and the Whigs, defeated an Irish Coercion Bill, and Peel resigned. After-

wards he gave an independent support to the Russell Ministry in the troubled years of the Irish famine and the Chartist agitation. He died from a fall from his horse.

§§ 478, 482, 484, 485, 487, 497, 518-521.

Pitt, William, Earl of Chatham, 1708-1778.—Beginning his career as a cornet in the army, Pitt entered Parliament in 1735, joined the Prince of Wales' party, and declaimed against Walpole and corruption —Carteret, after Walpole's fall, receiving similar treatment. Pitt held subordinate posts in the ministries of Pelham and Newcastle, but his eloquence made him supreme in the House of Commons, and his lofty spirit and ostentatious integrity had won the confidence of the people. He became mutinous, and Newcastle dismissed him (1755); but Byng's failure at Minorca and the defenceless state of England at the outset of the Seven Years' War broke up the ministry (1756). Pitt was Secretary of State in the new administration formed by the Duke of Devonshire, but it was weak for lack of borough influence; and after a brief period of factious intrigue a Coalition Ministry was formed (1757-1761), in which Pitt was again Secretary of State, this time with full control of foreign affairs and the war. Wolfe's Canadian conquests, Clive's Indian conquests, the destruction of the French fleets by Hawke and Boscawen are a portion only of the dazzling successes of the war. The Peace of Paris (1763) placed Britain at her highest pitch of power during the eighteenth century, but with France and Spain waiting for revenge.

Pitt had resigned soon after the accession of George III. because his colleagues refused to declare war against Spain, and he took no active part in the King's struggle with the Whig oligarchy. His ideal was a ministry chosen by the King and independent of party or connection. He therefore stood aloof from the Rockingham Whigs, and as Earl of Chatham (1765) he tried to form a ministry in accordance with his ideas. His plans had no chance, as he was smitten with a mysterious malady resembling insanity, which unfitted him for public affairs.

When Chatham returned to the world he found King and Parliament engaged in embittered contests with the American colonists, the electors of Middlesex, the Press and other important interests, and faction rife everywhere. He strove to defend the violated liberties of the subject, and to avert by conciliation the war with America into which Britain was drifting. His protests were unavailing—war brought disaster, and France and Spain were preparing to intervene. Chatham came to the House of Lords, to advocate the impracticable

policy of conceding everything but independence to the Americans, while waging implacable war against France which had just formed a close alliance with them. He swooned and was carried home, to die a month later. Haughty, self-willed, and theatrical, Chatham's patriotism and great public services place him in the foremost rank of British statesmen.

§§ 341, 355, 361, 372, 375-382, 384, 389-391, 396, 405.

Pitt, William, 1759-1806.—William Pitt, second son of the great Earl of Chatham, showed early and extraordinary ability, and on entering Parliament (1780) at once took a leading position. When Shelburne became Premier and Fox resigned (1782) Pitt was made Chancellor of the Exchequer at twenty-three ; and though the Fox-North Coalition soon drove him from office he reaped all the advantage of its unpopularity. The India Bill was rejected—Fox and North were dismissed—and Pitt became Premier (1783). In a minority in the Commons, outvoted and menaced, he contended single-handed with Fox, Burke, and Sheridan, refusing to resign or dissolve, till the Opposition crumbled away. Pitt's constancy was rewarded by the rout of the Whigs at the ensuing election, and by twenty-one years of almost uninterrupted sway. The insanity which attacked George III. (1788) threatened to deprive him of office, but Pitt's conduct on the Regency Bill gave him fresh claims on the gratitude of the King and people, and a new lease of power.

In his first years of office Pitt's India Bill and Irish reforms were notable achievements : he restored the national finances, and carried out Adam Smith's newly expounded principles in his commercial legislation. The French Revolution stopped these reforms, and Jacobin aggression and British indignation forced Pitt, against his wish, into war with France. He was inferior to his father as a war minister, and had miscalculated the nature of the struggle—his plans were often ill-laid and the men who executed them were often ill-chosen—and the Coalitions he formed were vanquished by revolutionary enthusiasm and the skill of the French generals. Twice Pitt tried to end the war, and at Lille (1797) he offered great concessions, but when peace was made at Amiens (1802) he was no longer in office.

Pitt had carried through the Union with Ireland (1800), but George III. refused to concur in his bold and enlightened policy of emancipating the Catholics and endowing their priests, and he had been forced to resign. The war with France was renewed, and Pitt, succeeding Addington as Premier (1804), spent his last energies in the

formation of a third Coalition. His health was already impaired, and, though the glory of Trafalgar revived him, Ulm and Austerlitz were mortal blows, and he sank under them. Magnanimous, disinterested, and of spotless private character, only the storms of the Revolutionary period prevented Pitt from carrying out the long series of beneficent reforms he meditated.

§§ 364, 417-426, 436-445, 447, 448, 453-456.

Rhodes, Cecil J., 1853-1902.—After making an immense fortune at the Kimberley diamond mines, Rhodes took up politics. His objects were to annex the vast regions north of Cape Colony—to link up the scattered States by a railway—and to unite them in a confederation under British rule. He had to meet the opposition of Kruger and the Africanders, who aimed at a Dutch hegemony. Rhodes forestalled Germans and Boers by occupying Bechuanaland and Rhodesia, and his railway system entered the Transvaal in spite of Kruger's opposition. The Jameson Raid fiasco ruined the further development of Rhodes' plans and he did not long survive the Boer War.

§§ 563, 570, 571.

Rockingham, Lord, 1730-1782.—A Whig aristocrat of high character and moderate abilities, who led an influential section of the party, and strove manfully against corrupt government. His first ministry (1765) repealed the Stamp Act, and passed a declaratory Act against General Warrants: but it had little strength; Chatham refused his support, and Rockingham was dismissed. He consistently protested against the arbitrary and unconstitutional measures of Grafton and North, and their treatment of the refractory American colonists. Rockingham's second ministry (1782) opened negotiations for peace, granted legislative independence to Ireland, and passed measures tending to check Parliamentary corruption.

§§ 390, 410, 416, 417.

Russell, Lord John, 1792-1878.—Russell, an aristocratic Whig, was selected to move the Reform Bill (1831) and led his party in the Commons in the Melbourne Ministry. Suddenly converted to Free Trade like Peel, he succeeded him as Premier (1846-1852), and dealt with the Irish Famine and the Chartist agitation. He dismissed Palmerston for insubordination, and was overthrown by him. His vacillations in the Crimean muddle destroyed his authority, and as Palmerston's Foreign Secretary (1859-1865) he gained little credit. Russell's career ended with the rejection in his second Premiership (1869) of Gladstone's Reform Bill. He passed the Municipal Corpora-

tions Act, and some minor reforms, and the ineffectual Ecclesiastical Titles Act.

§§ 478, 488, 498, 522-526, 528, 529, 534, 540.

Sacheverell, Dr., 1674-1724.—The High Church divine whose trial caused that astonishing explosion of Tory feeling which overthrew the Godolphin Ministry in 1710. Sacheverell was a popular preacher of no great ability, who happened to preach a sermon setting forth the principles of non-resistance and passive obedience, seasoned with innuendoes against the Revolution settlement. The Government unwisely decided to prosecute him, and Sacheverell became the hero of the hour. Walpole prosecuted, and Atterbury and Harcourt were his defenders. He was suspended from preaching for three years and his sermon was publicly burned, but his unbounded popularity was cheaply purchased by this nominal penalty.

§§ 318, 321.

Salisbury, Lord, 1830-1903.—After bestowing much caustic criticism on successive Liberal ministries, Robert Cecil became Indian Secretary in the third Derby Ministry. Objecting to a democratic Reform Bill he resigned, and levelled his sarcasms at it and the subsequent Gladstonian legislation. In the next Conservative ministry, Salisbury established his reputation as a statesman by his conduct of its Eastern policy, and at the Conferences at Constantinople and Berlin. His first short Premiership (1885) came after the Second Gladstone Ministry. In 1886 he joined the Liberal Unionists in defeating Home Rule, and offered to serve under Lord Hartington. His reward was a second Premiership and a powerful government, which kept order at home and was respected abroad.

After the second Home Rule Bill and the Gladstone and Rosebery Ministries had come and gone (1892-1895) Salisbury was premier till compelled by ill-health to retire (1902). His interest was chiefly in foreign affairs, and his fame rests on the sagacity with which he treated the difficulties that arose in Egypt, China, Japan, the Transvaal, and in the partition of Africa among the European powers.

§§ 539, 544, 554, 555, 561, 563, 566.

Shelburne, Lord, 1737-1805.—An enlightened statesman, skilled in commercial questions, but most unpopular, chiefly through faults of manner. First employed as Bute's go-between with Henry Fox, Shelburne aided Rockingham in repealing the Stamp Act, and joined Chatham in protesting against the treatment of the colonists, though refusing to concede American independence. Succeeding Rockingham

as Premier (1782), Shelburne was negotiating a peace with America and France when he was overthrown by the coalition of Charles Fox, who detested him, with North. Afterwards, Pitt refusing to serve with him, Shelburne was usually in opposition: he supported Hastings, opposed the Revolutionary War, and constantly urged peace with France.

§§ 416, 417.

Somers, Lord, 1651-1716.—Somers first distinguished himself in the trial of the Seven Bishops, and later as framer of the *Declaration of Rights*, and by his humane conduct of political prosecutions. He became Chancellor in 1697. He planned with Montague the restoration of the depreciated currency (1695). Somers was genuinely loyal to William, who trusted him, asking his advice on the *Triennial Bill* (1694) and the *Partition Treaties* (1698-1700). For his share in these Somers was impeached (1701), but was acquitted. In Anne's reign he led the Whigs who supported the war, and aided Godolphin to pass the Act of Union with Scotland.

§§ 291, 300, 314.

Stanhope, Earl, 1673-1721.—This staunch Whig soldier and statesman served with Peterborough and Stahremberg in Spain in the War of the Spanish Succession, and conquered Minorca (1708). Appointed Secretary of State and afterwards chief minister by George I., Stanhope supported the Septennial Act and with Sunderland was responsible for the Peerage Bill. He negotiated with Dubois the alliance with France which bound Orleans not to countenance the Pretender; combated the designs of Alberoni and sent Byng to destroy the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro (1718); and compelled Denmark to come to terms with Sweden (1719). He died from excitement when unjustly attacked about the South Sea Bubble.

§§ 313, 316, 323, 329, 330, 331-333.

Stanley, Edward: see *Derby, Earl of.*

St. John, Henry, Lord Bolingbroke, 1678-1751.—Dismissed from office by the Whigs who joined Godolphin (1708), St. John was restored to power at that minister's fall (1710). He negotiated the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) and, taking Harley's place as chief Minister by Mrs. Masham's aid, schemed to alter the succession. Ruined by the accession of George I., Bolingbroke fled to France, and, as the Pretender's chief minister, organised the Jacobite rising of 1715. Returning to England with a qualified pardon, he joined Pulteney and the anti-Walpole faction, and for years strove fruitlessly, by

intrigues and political writings, to regain power. Of profligate character, but a brilliant orator and writer.

§§ 304, 314, 318, 322, 323, 324, 341, 348, 383, 385.

Stuart, Prince Charles Edward, 1720-1788.—Charles Edward, son of the Old Pretender and Clementina Sobieski, though ill-educated, developed an engaging personality on which the Jacobites fixed their last hopes. England and France being at war (1740-1748), Louis XV. was willing to encourage a Scottish rebellion, but gave no really effectual aid. Charles Edward therefore landed alone in the Hebrides and appealed to Celtic loyalty (1745).

The chiefs took up arms against their better judgment, but their first successes were marvellous. Slipping past Cope, who was sent against him, the Prince gained Edinburgh, routed Cope's army at Prestonpans, and marched into the heart of England. Carlisle was besieged, and Lord George Murray, Charles' adviser, out-generalling both Marshal Wade and Cumberland, who were approaching from east and west, advanced to Derby. London was in panic; but the English Jacobites held back, no French army came, and the Highlanders were forced to retreat. They outmarched Cumberland, outwitted Wade, and beat Hawley at Falkirk, but were finally defeated by Cumberland at Culloden (1746). Charles, after hiding for months in the Hebrides, escaped to Brittany. Louis received him kindly, but made him leave France at the Peace of Aachen (1748). His character degenerated with age, and he fell into habits of drunkenness and debauchery.

§§ 353, 354.

Swift, Jonathan, 1667-1745.—Born in Dublin and educated at Trinity College, Swift was ordained priest, and became secretary to Sir William Temple. He allied himself with Harley, St. John, Atterbury, and Pope, and his *Examiner* and other political tracts helped the Tory triumph in 1710. He was made Dean of St. Patrick's, but the accession of George I. stopped his further preferment. Swift was nothing daunted, and his *Drapier's Letters* (1724) and other Irish tracts raised a storm of national feeling. His *Gulliver's Travels*, *Tale of a Tub*, and satirical poems are masterpieces of irony and grim humour in the homeliest language. He became imbecile in his later years.

§§ 334, 335.

Walpole, Sir Robert, 1676-1745.—A country gentleman of Norfolk, of coarse manners but powerful understanding, whose dexterous management assured the long domination of the Whig party and the

security of the Hanoverian dynasty, in spite of the dislike felt for both by a majority of the people. Elected to Parliament in 1702, he became a keen partisan and expert debater, and was sent to the Tower at the Tory triumph in 1710. Walpole got his reward at the accession of George I., and employed his talents for business and finance in reducing the interest on the National Debt (1717). He showed his independence by overthrowing Sunderland's scheme for turning the House of Lords into a close corporation.

Walpole had shown the unsoundness of the South Sea project, and when the bubble burst he was placed at the head of the Ministry, and retained his power for twenty-one years against all efforts to displace him. George I. trusted him to the last, and after his death Walpole managed George II. through Queen Caroline. He saw that a period of peace and prosperity was necessary to make the Hanoverian dynasty popular, and to enable the nation to recover from the great expenses of the long wars with France (1689-1714). His policy therefore was to keep things quiet, to humour the people even when they were wrong, to avoid all contests, and give old grudges and Tory discontent time to heal. His reluctant consent to the Spanish war (1739) was a concession to the roused spirit of the nation.

Walpole's success earned him a host of enemies, including men like Pulteney, Carteret, Chesterfield, and Pitt, and they were marshalled against him by Bolingbroke, who wrote against him in the *Craftsman* and tried to undermine him at Court. They compelled him to abandon his scheme for extending the Excise (1733) and tried hard to ruin him in the fierce quarrel between the King and Queen and the Prince of Wales. They forced him into the war with Spain, but he probably hoped to bring it to a speedy end. At the election of 1741, however, the Scottish and Cornish boroughs turned against Walpole, and after a prolonged Parliamentary struggle he resigned (1742). Walpole's enemies talked of impeachment, but he had taken care to secure himself and their malice was frustrated. He was made Earl of Orford, retained almost all his influence, and was consulted in every emergency. Walpole was not a man of lofty character, but few statesmen have managed the affairs of a great nation for so long a period with equal success.

§§ 314, 329, 333, 337, 339-342, 344-347.

Wellesley, Lord, 1760-1842.—As Governor-General of India (1798-1805) Wellesley had to contend against Tipú Sáhib, the Maráthás, and the French, who were in alliance with them to destroy our Indian empire. Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition had this for one of its objects. On

hearing of Nelson's victory at Aboukir Wellesley declared war on Tipú, who was speedily overthrown and slain (1799).

Wellesley's policy was to make Britain the ruler of a system of "protected" tributary native states, and on these terms the Nizám, Mysore, and Oudh came under British suzerainty. The Peshwá of the Maráthás having been overthrown by his feudatories, Sindhia, Bhonsla, and Holkar, Wellesley made a treaty with him at Bassein and restored him to his dominions. War ensued (1803) and Arthur Wellesley's victories at Assaye and Argáum and Lake's at Laswári and Dieg secured the submission of the Márátha chiefs, the dismissal of their French officers, and the subordination to British rule of all India except Rájputána and the Indus valley. Wellesley's autocratic methods and costly wars were attacked in Parliament, but were finally approved.

As Foreign Secretary under Percival (1809-1812) Wellesley supported Wellington in the Peninsular War. In Ireland he was an admirable and enlightened Lord-Lieutenant (1821-1828), suppressing secret societies, and gaining the confidence of the Catholics.

§§ 449, 450, 466.

Wellington, Duke of, 1769-1852.—As son of Lord Mornington and brother of the Governor-General of India, Arthur Wellesley gained early opportunities of promotion and distinction. His military reputation was established by his victories over the Márátha chiefs at Assaye and Argáum (1803); and on his return to Europe, after some minor employments, he was made commander of the army sent to drive the French from Portugal. He won the battle of Vimiero (1807), but narrowly escaped ruin from the anger caused by the Convention of Cintra, concluded by his superior officers. Afterwards, Wellesley invaded Spain and gained the battle of Talavera (1809), but was compelled to retreat into Portugal, where behind the fortifications of Torres Vedras he kept Masséna and a huge French host at bay. He maintained himself in Portugal for two years, winning battles at Busaco (1810) and Fuentes d'Oñoro (1811) and taking full advantage of the disunion among the French generals, and the difficulties of their position in a poor and hostile country. In 1812 Wellington again invaded Spain, gained the battle of Salamanca, and occupied Madrid, but was again forced to retreat. In 1813 his victory at Vittoria drove the French from Spain, and Soult's attempts to regain it were foiled by the Battles of the Pyrenees. Crossing the mountains in the winter, Wellington beat Soult at Orthez and at Toulouse (1814), the final battle of the war, Napoleon having abdicated. His services in

the Peninsula were rewarded by the thanks of Parliament, a dukedom, and a gift of £500,000.

While Wellington was assisting at the Congress of Vienna, Napoleon escaped from Elba and regained the throne of France. Taking command of the British army in Belgium, Wellington repulsed Ney at Quatre Bras, and, aided by Blucher, completely defeated Napoleon at Waterloo (1815).

After commanding the army of occupation in France till 1819, Wellington took up civil politics, served in the Liverpool Ministry, and represented Britain at the Congress of Verona (1822). He refused to join Canning, but became Premier after his death (1828). Confronted by the risk of Irish rebellion he conceded Catholic Emancipation, which he had steadily opposed (1829); but his supporters were alienated, the Canningites deserted him on the Reform question, and he resigned (1830). Wellington incurred much odium by his resistance to the Reform Bill (1832), but he accepted it frankly when passed, and acquiesced in the consequent changes. He was Foreign Secretary in Peel's first Ministry (1834) and gave him loyal support on the repeal of the Corn Laws.

Wellington had long outlived his temporary unpopularity when he died amid the regrets of the people he had so well served.

§§ 450, 462, 464, 465, 469, 472, 482, 483-485, 487-489, 497.

Wilkes, John, 1727-1797.—The impudent, witty, licentious demagogue who plagued George III. and his ministers, insulted them in the *North Briton*, and defeated them on the question of General Warrants (1763). Expelled from Parliament (1765), outlawed, and imprisoned, he was thrice elected member for Middlesex and thrice expelled, his opponent Luttrell being declared elected (1769). In 1771 Wilkes helped to win the fight for the right of reporting Parliamentary debates, and in 1782 the motions for his expulsion were expunged from the Parliamentary records. Wilkes was elected Lord Mayor—his debts were paid—and he died a supporter of the King and Pitt.

§§ 386, 387, 393, 397.

Wolfe, General, 1727-1759.—After fighting bravely at Dettingen, Falkirk, Culloden, and Laeffelt, Wolfe's conduct in the Rochefort expedition attracted Pitt's notice, and he was sent with Boscawen to attack Louisburg (1758). After its surrender he was sent against Quebec. It was strongly fortified and garrisoned, and when Wolfe had made his way up the St. Lawrence his attacks,

though renewed from different quarters, were repulsed. At length, dropping down the river by night in boats, and climbing some high cliffs, the troops reached the Plains of Abraham. Montcalm came down to attack them and was defeated, Wolfe dying in the moment of victory.

§ 377.

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